

## QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1821.

ART. I.—1. *Histoire de Cromwell, d'après les Mémoires du Temps, et les Recueils Parlementaires.* Par M. Villemain. 2 tom. 8vo. Paris. 1819.

2. *Memoirs of the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, and of his Sons, Richard and Henry. Illustrated by Original Letters, and other Family Papers.* By Oliver Cromwell, Esq., a Descendant of the Family. With Portraits from Original Pictures. London. 1820. 4to.

3. *Oliver Cromwell and his Times.* By Thomas Cromwell. London. 1821.

4. *Cromwelliana. A Chronological Detail of Events in which Oliver Cromwell was engaged from the year 1642 to his Death 1658: with a Continuation of other Transactions to the Restoration.* Westminster. 1810. Folio.

THE first of these works is in all respects a very good book; the second, which contains much less original matter than we had hoped to find there, is the commendable attempt of an old and respectable gentleman to vindicate the character of his great ancestor. Mr. Thomas Cromwell, the author of the third work, appears *not* to be a descendant of the family: his book, though very inferior to M. Villemain's, and composed in too ambitious a style, is on the whole so fairly written and intended, that we advise the author to ask himself whether some of his statements are not more conformable to the prejudices with which he took up the subject, than to the facts with which he became acquainted in pursuing it,—to reconsider the grounds and the consistency of some of his opinions—and if a second edition of his book should be called for, to introduce it by a preface, somewhat more modest and decorous. The fourth and last article consists of a series of extracts from the Diurnalls, and other publications of those times. With these works before us, and with the aid of such other materials as the rich memoirs of that disastrous age afford, and the industry of later writers has supplied, (among whom Mr. Noble deserves especial mention as one of the most laborious, and accurate and useful of the pioneer class,) we shall endeavour to present a compendious and faithful account of Oliver Cromwell's eventful life.

The pedigree of the Protector's family commences about the middle of the eleventh century with Glothyan Lord of Powys, who

married Morveth, the daughter and heiress of Edwyn ap Tydwel, Lord of Cardigan;—a Welsh genealogist no doubt would be able to trace the Lords of Cardigan and Powys up to Cadwallader and so on to Brennus and Belinus. William ap Yevan, the representative of the family in the fifteenth century, was in the service first of Jasper Duke of Bedford, Henry the Seventh's uncle, afterwards of that king himself. His son, Morgan Williams, married the sister of that Cromwell whose name is conspicuous in the history of the Reformation, and who, though not irreproachable for his share in the transactions of a portentous reign, is on the whole largely entitled to commiseration and respect. The eldest son of this marriage called himself Richard Cromwell, *alias* Williams, and as the former was the more popular and distinctive name, the *alias*, though long retained by the family in their deeds and wills, was dropt in ordinary use. This Richard was one of the six challengers who held a tournament in 1540 at Westminster against all comers. The justs were proclaimed in France, Flanders, Spain and Scotland. The challengers entered the field richly accoutred, and their horses trapped in white velvet; the knights and gentlemen who rode before them were apparelled in velvet and white sarsnet, and their servants were all in white doublets and 'hosen cut in the Burgonian fashion.' Sir Richard was knighted on the second day, and performed his part in the justs so well that the king cried out to him, 'formerly thou wast my Dick, but hereafter thou shalt be my diamond;' and then dropping a diamond ring from his finger bade him take it, and ever after bear such a one in the fore gamb of the demy lion in his crest. As a further proof of the royal favour, he and each of the challengers had a house and an hundred marks annually, to them and their heirs for ever, granted out of the property of the Knights of Rhodes, the last prior of that religion dying at this time broken-hearted for the dissolution of his order.

Sir Richard Cromwell was one of those persons who were enriched by the spoils of the Church. He was appointed one of the visitors of the Religious Houses, and received for his reward so large a portion of the plunder, that the church lands which he had possessed in Huntingdonshire only, were let in Charles the Second's reign for more than £30,000 a year; and besides these he had very great estates in the adjoining counties of Cambridge, Bedford, Rutland and Northampton. The donors of estates to monasteries and churches usually inserted in their deeds of gift a solemn imprecation against all persons who should usurp the property so bequeathed, or convert it to other purposes than those for which it was consecrated. Though this proved no defence for the estates which had been piously disposed, it was long believed

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by the people that the property sacrilegiously obtained at the dissolution carried a curse with it; and, in a great majority of instances, the facts were such as to strengthen the opinion. Without consigning the rapacious courtiers of that age to the bottomless pit, 'there to be tormented for ever with Korah, Dathan and Abiram, and with Judas Iscariot,' it may safely be said that no conscientious man would have taken property clogged with such an entail.

Henry, the eldest son and heir of Sir Richard, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, who esteemed him highly, and honoured him by sleeping at his seat, once the Nunnery, at Hinchinbrook, on her return from visiting Cambridge. He was called the Golden Knight for his wealth and for his liberality, which was of a splendid kind; for, dividing his time between Hinchinbrook and Ramsey, whenever he returned to the latter place he used to throw large sums of money to the poor townsmen. The death of his second wife was one of the alleged crimes for which the witches of Warboys were accused and executed; the property of these poor wretches, amounting to £40, was forfeited to Sir Henry, as lord of the manor, and he gave it to the Corporation of Huntingdon on condition that they should procure from Queen's College, Cambridge, every year on Lady-day, a Doctor or Bachelor of Divinity to preach in that town against the sin of witchcraft. That condition was regularly fulfilled about thirty years ago: in what manner it is performed at present we know not. Robert, the second son of Sir Henry, was the father of Oliver, so named after his uncle, the head of the family. That uncle, Sir Oliver, was a magnificent personage, for whose expenses even the enormous property which he inherited proved inadequate.

Sir Henry left his younger sons estates of about £300 a year each: those to which Robert Cromwell succeeded lay in and near the town of Huntingdon, having chiefly or wholly belonged to the Augustinian Monastery of St. Mary. The house in which he resided was either part of the Hospital of St. John, or built upon the site and with materials from its ruins. He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Steward, of the city of Ely, a family which, it is not doubted, was allied to the royal house of Scotland. She was the widow of a Mr. Lynne, and is supposed to have brought him little other fortune than her jointure. They had ten children, OLIVER was the second, and the only one of the three boys who lived to grow up. Mr. Cromwell was member for his own borough of Huntingdon in the parliament held in the 35th of Elizabeth, and he was in the commission of the Peace. This satisfied all his ambition: but, to provide for so large a family, he entered into a large brewing business; it was carried on by servants, and Mrs. Cromwell inspected their accounts, which

rendered her better able to conduct the business for herself\* after her husband's death in 1617. Oliver was born April 25th, 1599. A nonjuror, who afterwards purchased and inhabited the house, used, when he showed the room in which the Protector was born, to observe that the devil was behind the door, alluding to a figure of Satan in the hangings. It is said, on the authority of the same person, who was curious in collecting what traditions remained concerning so eminent a man, that Oliver, when an infant, was in as much danger from a great monkey as Gulliver was at Brobdignag. At his grandfather's house one of these mischievous creatures took him out of the cradle, carried him upon the leads of the house, to the dreadful alarm of the family, (who made beds and blankets ready, in the forlorn hope of catching him,) and at last brought him safely down. He was saved from drowning in his youth by Mr. Johnson, the curate of Cunnington.

Oliver was educated at the free grammar school of his native town, by Dr. Beard,† whose severity towards him is said to have been more than what was usual even in that age of barbarous school-discipline. He was a resolute, active boy, fond of engaging in hazardous exploits, and more capable of hard study than inclined to it. His ambition was of a different kind, and that peculiar kind discovered itself even in his youth. He is said to have displayed a more than common emotion in playing the part of Tactus who finds a royal robe and a crown, in the old comedy of *Lingua*. The comedy was certainly performed at the free-school of Huntingdon in his time, and if Oliver played the part, the scene in question is one which he must have remembered with singular feeling, whatever he may have felt in enacting it.

\* Mr. O. Cromwell says 'all this has been said by Cromwell's enemies, for the purpose of degrading him; but no evidence to be relied on is produced in support of these assertions. The truth is, nothing certain is likely to be known of his early life, or the pecuniary circumstances of his parents.' 'And,' he adds, 'that, as Cromwell, in a speech to his Parliament, said he was a gentleman, neither living in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity, such an account of himself is a sufficient confutation of his and his family's narrow circumstances, and their engagements in trade in consequence.' This gentleman very justly observes that the statement, 'if true, could not be deemed discreditable to the family, the youngest brothers of the best families in this country engaging in trade and thereby raising themselves to fortune and independency.' With this feeling there is an inconsistency in resenting the statement as a wrong. Of such facts no other proof is possible than contemporary assertions, uncontradicted at the time; these are so numerous that it is almost absurd to question them; and what renders the fact highly probable is, that Mrs. Cromwell 'lived in a very handsome, frugal manner, and gave each of her daughters fortune sufficient to marry them to persons of genteel families;' which she could never have done from her dowry alone, being only 60*l.* a year.

† The frontispiece to the *Theatre of God's Judgments* is said to be a portrait of this severe schoolmaster. It represents him with two scholars standing behind, a rod in his hand, and *As in presenti* proceeding from his mouth.

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'Was ever man so fortunate as I,  
To break his shins at such a stumbling-block!  
Roses and bays back hence! this Crown and Robe  
My brows and body circles and invests.  
How gallantly it fits me! Sure the slave  
Measured my head that wrought this coronet.  
They lie who say complexions cannot change;  
My blood's ennobled, and I am transform'd  
Unto the sacred nature of a king.  
Methinks I hear my noble parasites  
Styling me Cæsar or great Alexander,  
Licking my feet, and wondering where I got  
This precious ointment. How my pace is mended,  
How princely do I speak, how sharp I threaten;—  
Peasants, I'll curb your headstrong impudence,  
And make you tremble when the lion roars,  
Ye earth-bred worms!—  
Poets will write whole volumes of this change.'

He himself is said often, in the height of his fortune, to have mentioned a gigantic figure which, when he was a boy, opened the curtains of his bed, and told him he should be the greatest person in the kingdom. Such a dream he may very probably have had; and nothing can be more likely than that he should seek to persuade himself it was a prophetic vision, when events seemed to place the fulfilment within his reach. But that his uncle Steward told him it was traitorous to relate it, and that he was flogged for the relation by Dr. Beard, at his father's particular desire, are additions to the story which are disproved by their absurdity; however loyal his parents, and however addicted to the use of the rod his master, they would no more have punished him at that time for such a fancy, than for dreaming that he was to become Grand Turk or Prester John. There is another tale concerning his childhood, which, as well as all these anecdotes, the living historian of the family treats as an absolute falsehood; that being at his uncle's house at Hinchinbrook when the royal family rested there on their way from Scotland in 1604, he was brought to play with Prince Charles, then Duke of York, quarrelled with him, beat him, and made his nose bleed profusely,—which was remembered as a bad omen for the king when Cromwell began to distinguish himself in the civil wars. Mr. Noble relates this only as the tradition of the place, adding that Hinchinbrook was generally one of the resting-places of the royal family on the northern road. Such anecdotes relating to such a man, even though they may be of doubtful authenticity, are not unworthy of preservation. The fabulous history of every country is a part of its history, and ought not to be omitted by later and more enlightened historians; because it has been believed at one

time, and while it was believed it influenced the imagination, and thereby, in some degree, the opinions and the character of the people. Biographical fables, on the other hand, are worthy of notice, because they show in what manner the celebrity of the personage, in whose honour or dishonour they have been invented, has acted upon his countrymen. Moreover, there is in the curiosity which we feel concerning the earliest actions of remarkable men, an interest akin to that which is attached to the source of a great river. There are many springs in this country more beautiful in themselves and in their accompaniments than the fountains of the Thames, or the Danube, or the Nile, but how inferior in kind and in degree is the feeling which they excite!

Before Cromwell had quite completed his seventeenth year he was removed from the school at Huntingdon to Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge. Though his passion for athletic exercises still continued, so much so that he is said to have acquired the name of a royster in the University, it appears certain, that the short time which he past there was not mis-spent, but that he made a respectable proficiency in his studies. He had not, however, been there more than a year when his father died, and his mother, to whose care he appears to have been left, removed him from college. It has been affirmed that he was placed at Lincoln's Inn, but that instead of attending to the law he wasted his time 'in a dissolute course of life, and good-fellowship and gaming.' His descendant denies this, because his name is not to be found in the records of Lincoln's Inn; to which sufficient disproof he adds, that 'it is not likely a youth of eighteen or nineteen should in those days have been sent to an inn of court.' The unlikelihood is not apparent; there is no imaginable reason why he should have been represented as a student of law if he had never been so, and the probability is that he was entered at some other of the inns of court. Returning thence to reside upon his paternal property, he is said to have led a low and boisterous life; and for proof of this, a letter to his cousin, Mrs. St. John, is quoted, in which he says,—'You know what my manner of life hath been. Oh, I lived in and loved darkness, and hated the light; I was a chief, the chief of sinners. This is true; I hated godliness, yet God had mercy on me.' The present Mr. Oliver Cromwell argues that no such meaning is to be inferred from the words, but that such 'it is conceived would be the language of any person of the present day, who, after professing christianity in the common loose way in which it is commonly professed, and even preserving themselves free from the commission of all gross sins and immoral acts, should become a convert to the stricter doctrines and precepts of the Scriptures, as held by those who are deemed to be the evangelical or orthodox believers of these times.' Mr. Crom-

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well is right; the letter proves nothing, except that there is a good deal of the same canting now that there was then, cant indeed being a coin which always passes current. The language of an evangelical professor concerning his own sins and the sense of his own wickedness, is no more to be taken literally than that of an amorous sonneteer who complains of flames and torments.

The course of Cromwell's conduct, however, at this time was such as to offend his paternal uncle, Sir Oliver, and his maternal one, Sir Thomas Steward. The offence given to the former is said to have been by a beastly frolic, for which the master of Misrule very properly condemned him to the discipline of a horse-pond. The story, from its very filthiness, is incredible: Bates, however, would not have related it unless he had believed it, and Oliver's practical jests were sometimes dirty as well as coarse. The means by which he displeased Sir Thomas are less doubtful and of a blacker die:—wishing to get possession of his estate, he represented him as not able to govern it, and petitioned for a commission of lunacy against him, which was refused. Because Sir Thomas was reconciled to him afterwards, and ultimately left him the estate, the present Mr. O. Cromwell denies the fact, saying, 'this supposed attempt to deprive his uncle of his estate would have been so atrocious and unpardonable, that the reasonable conclusion must be, that this disposition in favour of Cromwell proves the falsehood of the story.' A better ground of defence would have been to maintain that the uncle was not in his sound senses, and to allege the bequest after such provocation, in proof of it. The story is most certainly true; it is established by a speech of Archbishop Williams to the king concerning Cromwell, wherein he says, 'Your Majesty did him but justice in refusing his petition against Sir Thomas Steward of the isle of Ely; but he takes them all for his enemies that would not let him undo his best friend.' Mr. O. Cromwell has overlooked this evidence. But he is not the only modern biographer who has thought proper to contradict the facts which are recorded of an ancestor, because it is not agreeable to believe them. The probability is, that Cromwell, who was not naturally a wicked man, thought his petition well grounded.

Whatever may have been the follies and vices of his youth, it is certain that he had strength and resolution enough to shake them off. As soon as he came of age he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Bouchier, of Fitted, in Essex, a woman whose irreproachable life might have protected her from obloquy and insult, if in the heat of party-spirit any thing were held sacred. She brought him some fortune, and, in the year 1625, he was returned

to King Charles's first parliament for the borough of Huntingdon. There was no disaffection in his family either to the church or state; they had indeed enjoyed in a peculiar manner the bounty as well as the favour of the crown. But Cromwell was not likely to behold the measures of the government with indifference or complacency; a man so capable of governing well, perceived the errors which were committed; and the displeasure, thus reasonably excited, was heightened by accidental and personal circumstances till it became a rooted disaffection. To this some of his family connections must have contributed in no slight degree. Hampden was his first cousin; and St. John, who was connected with the Cromwells by his first marriage, married for his second wife one who stood in the same degree of near relationship to him. They were unquestionably two of the ablest men in that distinguished age; and Hampden, who had sagacity enough to perceive the talents of his kinsman when they were not suspected by others, possessed a great influence over his mind; Cromwell 'followed his advice whilst living, and revered his memory when dead.' These eminent men were both deadly enemies at heart to the established church, and the puritanical bias which their conversation was likely to impart was increased by his own disposition, for in the early part of his life it is certain that he was of a fanatical constitution. He often supposed himself to be dying, and called up his physician at unseasonable hours in causeless alarm; and that physician's account of him is, that 'he was quite a splenetic, and had fancies about the Cross in the town.'

Cromwell sat for the same borough in the parliament of 1628, and spoke severely and justly against the promotion of Dr. Manwaring; but by complaining at the same time of persons who 'preached flat popery,' which was a flat falsehood, he lessened the effect of his opinion upon unprejudiced and judicious minds. Three years afterwards he sold some of his estates for 1800*l.*; stocked a grazing farm at St. Ives, and removed thither from Huntingdon. The barn which he built here was still standing, and bore his name, when Mr. Noble published his *Memoirs of the Protectoral House*; and the farmer who then rented the estate marked his sheep with the identical marking irons which Oliver used, and which had O. C. upon them. While he resided here he returned some money which he had formerly won by gaming, and which he considered it sinful to keep. The sums were not inconsiderable for that time and for his means, one of them being 30*l.* and another 120*l.* The death of Sir Thomas Steward placed him in affluence, and, in 1635, he removed to the Glebe House, in the city of Ely. He had now a large family, and took his full share in local business as an active country gentleman,

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not always as a useful one, for the scheme of draining the fens of Lincolnshire and the Isle of Ely, which his father and many others of his relations had promoted, was defeated chiefly by his opposition. There was a popular cry against the measure, because the inhabitants enjoyed a customary right of commoning and fishing there; Cromwell therefore became so great a favourite with them for espousing their immediate interest, that he was called the Lord of the Fens. It is more likely that he was actuated by a desire of ingratiating himself with the people of the country on this occasion, than that so far-sighted and able a man should not have perceived the great and obvious utility of the measure which he resisted. Afterwards, when the act passed under the Commonwealth, he was appointed one of the Commissioners; and the work proceeded with his favour when he was Protector.

The state of England, though the country was rapidly improving, and prosperous beyond all former example, was such as might well trouble every upright and thoughtful observer. The wisest man could not possibly foresee in what the conflict of opinions which had begun, was likely to terminate: this only was certain, that there must inevitably be great evil in the process, and that whatever extreme prevailed, the end must needs be one which no good man, or true friend of his country, could contemplate without sorrow. In any other age Charles I. would have been the best and the most popular of Kings. His unambitious and conscientious spirit would have preserved the kingdom in peace; his private life would have set an example of dignified virtue, such as had rarely been seen in courts; and his love of arts and letters would have conferred permanent splendour upon his age, and secured for himself the grateful applause of after generations. But he succeeded to a crown whose prerogatives had been largely asserted and never defined; to a scanty revenue, and to a popular but expensive war, no ways honourable to the nation either in its cause or conduct. The history of his reign thus far had been a series of errors and faults on all sides, so that an impartial observer would have found it difficult to satisfy himself whether the King and his ministers or the parliaments were the most reprehensible; or which party had given the greatest provocation, and thereby afforded most excuse for the conduct of the other. Unable to govern with a parliament and impatient of being governed by one, Charles had tried the perilous experiment of governing without one. There can be no doubt that the liberties of Great Britain must have been destroyed if that experiment had been successful; and successful in all human probability it would have been, if a spirit of religious discord had not possessed the nation. For though the system of Charles's administration was arbitrary, and therefore tyrannical, the revenue which  
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he raised by extraordinary means was not greater than what would cheerfully have been granted him in the ordinary and just course of government; it was frugally administered, and applied in a manner suitable to the interest and honour of the kingdom, which, for twelve years, in the words of Lord Clarendon, 'enjoyed the greatest calm and the fullest measure of felicity that any people in any age, for so long time together, have been blessed with, to the wonder and envy of all the other parts of Christendom.' Foreign and domestic trade flourished and increased; towns grew, not with a forced and unhealthy growth, occasioned by the unnatural activity of a manufacturing system, but in just proportion to the growing industry and wealth of the country. England was respected abroad and prosperous at home; it even seemed as if the physical condition of the island had undergone a beneficial change, for the visitations of pestilence were abating, which had been so frequent in the preceding reign. But a severer judgement was impending over a headstrong generation, insensible of the blessings with which they were favoured and ungrateful for them.

While this long calm endured, the most sagacious politicians were so far from perceiving any indications of the storm which they were to direct, that believing the country was doomed and resigned to the loss of its liberties, they resolved upon leaving it, and transporting themselves, in voluntary exile, to a land of freedom. Lord Brooke, Lord Say and Sele and his sons, Pym, and other distinguished men of the same sentiments, were about to remove to a settlement in New England, where the name of Saybrooke, in honour of the two noble leaders, had already been given to a township in which they were expected. Eight vessels with emigrants on board were ready to sail from the Thames, when the King by an order of council forbade their departure, and compelled the intended passengers to come on shore, fatally for himself; for among those passengers Haslerigge and Hampden, and Cromwell, with all his family, had actually embarked. There are few facts in history which have so much the appearance of fatality as this.

Charles and his ministers feared that so many discontented and stirring spirits would be perilous in a colony which, being decidedly hostile to the church of England, might easily be alienated from the state. They saw clearly the remote danger, but they were blind to the nearer and greater evil; and in that error they stopt the issue which the peccant humours had opened for themselves. Cromwell returned to Ely, and there continued to lead a respectable and pious life. A letter which he wrote at this time to Mrs. St. John (already mentioned) has been preserved; it is better expressed than most of his compositions, and is remarkable not merely for its characteristic language, but for a passage which may perhaps be

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thought to imply the hope, if not the expectation, of making himself conspicuous in defence of his religious sentiments. 'Dear Cousin,' he says, 'I thankfully acknowledge your love in your kind remembrance of me upon this opportunity. Alas, you do too highly prize my lines, and my company! I may be ashamed to own your expressions, considering how unprofitable I am and the mean improvement of my talent. Yet to honour my God by declaring what he hath done for my soul, in this I am confident, and I will be so. Truly then this I find, that he giveth springs in a dry and barren wilderness, where no water is. I live (you know where) in Mesheck, which they say signifies prolonging; in Kedar, which signifieth blackness: yet the Lord forsaketh me not. Though He do prolong, yet He will, I trust, bring me to his tabernacle, to his resting place. My soul is with the congregation of the first born: my body rests in hope; and if here I may honour my God, either by doing or suffering, I shall be more glad. Truly no poor creature hath more cause to put forth himself in the cause of his God than I. I have had plentiful wages before hand, and I am sure I shall never earn the least mite. The Lord accept me in his Son, and give me to walk in the light, and give us to walk in the light, as he is in the light: He it is that enlighteneth our blackness, our darkness. I dare not say he hideth his face from me; he giveth me to see light in his light. One beam in a dark place hath exceeding much refreshment in it; blessed be his name for shining upon so dark a heart as mine!'

This readiness to do and to suffer in a righteous cause, might have been confined to the ignoble theatre of a Bishop's court, if a wider field had not soon been opened for puritanical ambition. Cromwell had usually attended the church-service, joining, probably like Baxter, 'in the common prayer, with as hearty fervency, as afterwards he did with other prayers:'—'As long as I had no prejudice against it,' says that good man, 'I had no stop in my devotions from any of its imperfections.' But even before he left Huntingdon his house had been a retreat for those non-conforming preachers who had provoked the law; and a building behind it is shown, which he is said to have erected for their use, and in which, according to the same tradition, he sometimes edified them by a discourse himself. It is certain that he put himself forward in their cause so as to be looked upon as the head of their party in that country; and Williams, who was then Bishop of Lincoln, and whom he often troubled on such occasions, says that he was a common spokesman for sectaries, and maintained their part with stubbornness. Whatever part indeed Cromwell took up would be well maintained, and the time was now approaching when he was to take a conspicuous one.

A rebellion

A rebellion broke out in Scotland, where no disaffection had been suspected. By prudent measures it might easily have been averted, by vigorous ones it might easily have been crushed; and both were wanting. The King raised an army which, by the management of designing persons, and the mismanagement of others, was rendered useless. A treaty was made by which nothing was concluded; all the savings of the preceding years were wasted in this disgraceful expedition; and Charles, who had so long governed without a parliament, was now compelled to call one, for the purpose of obtaining supplies. The majority of that parliament consisted of men who knew their duty to their King and country, and, in asserting the constitutional liberties of the people, would have sacredly preserved the rights of the crown, wherein those liberties have their surest safeguard. There were however some persons, of great ability, who were determined upon effecting some change both in the ecclesiastic and civil institutions of the land, not having acknowledged to others, nor perhaps to themselves, how far they were willing that that change should extend. The state of their mind was well expressed by Cromwell, who, when Sir Thomas Chicheley and Sir Philip Warwick asked him with what concessions he would be satisfied, honestly replied, I can tell you, Sirs, what I would not have, though I cannot tell what I would. This parliament was hastily dissolved by the council of Sir Henry Vane, the elder, and Herbert the Solicitor General: the latter acted from no worse motives than peevishness and mortified pride; the former appears to have intended the mischief which ensued. The discontented party did not conceal their joy at an event which made all good men mournful. Cromwell's cousin St. John, whose dark and treacherous spirit at all other times clouded his countenance, met Mr. Hyde with a smiling and cheerful aspect, and seeing him melancholy, 'as in truth he was from his heart,' asked what troubled him. The same, he replied, which troubled most good men, that in such a time of confusion, so wise a parliament, which alone could have found remedy for it, was so unseasonably dismissed. But St. John warmly made answer, that all was well: and that it must be worse before it was better: and that this parliament could never have done what was necessary to be done—'as indeed,' says Hyde, 'it would not what he and his friends thought necessary.' Cromwell was one of those friends; he had been returned to this parliament for the town of Cambridge, and was returned for the same seat to the next—the famous and infamous Long Parliament, which Charles found it necessary to call in six months after the dissolution.

Cromwell's appearance in this assembly is happily described by Sir Philip Warwick. 'The first time,' he says, 'that ever I took notice of him, was in the beginning of the parliament held in No-

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vember 1640, when I vainly thought myself a courtly young gentleman, for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes. I came one morning into the house well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking, whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country taylor. His linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar: his hat was without a hat-band; his stature was of a good size; his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swoln and reddish, his voice sharp and untunable, and his eloquence full of fervour.' But it was more by heat and earnestness than by eloquence, that Cromwell made himself noticed at this time. One of the first occasions upon which he spoke in this parliament was in a committee, in opposition to Lord Kimbolton, upon the Earl of Manchester's inclosure business. He behaved intemperately, 'ordering the witnesses and petitioners in the method of proceeding, and seconding, and enlarging upon what they said with great passion.' When the chairman endeavoured to preserve order, by speaking with authority, Cromwell accused him of being partial and discountenancing the witnesses; and when, says Lord Clarendon, who was himself the chairman, Lord Kimbolton, 'upon any mention of matter of fact, or the proceeding before or at the inclosure, desired to be heard, and with great modesty related what had been done, or explained what had been said, Mr. Cromwell did answer and reply upon him with so much indecency and rudeness, and in language so contrary and offensive, that every man would have thought, that as their natures and their measures were as opposite as it was possible, so their interest could never have been the same. In the end his whole carriage was so tempestuous, and his behaviour so insolent, that the chairman found himself obliged to reprehend him, and to tell him if he proceeded in the same manner, he would presently adjourn the committee, and the next morning complain to the house of him.'

Cromwell's name does not appear in the proceedings against Lord Strafford. That he bore his part, however, may be presumed not only from the whole tenour of his after-conduct, but because his cousin St. John was one of the foremost agents in that most iniquitous transaction, one of the deadly sins of the Long Parliament. When the question of the Remonstrance, much against the will of the violent party, was deferred till the morrow, that there might be time for debating it, Cromwell asked Lord Falkland why he would have it put off, for that day would quickly have determined it? Lord Falkland answered there would not have been time enough, for sure it would take some debate; and Cromwell replied,

replied, a very sorry one ; for he, and those with whom he acted, supposed there would be little opposition. It was so well opposed that the debate continued from nine in the morning till midnight; a thing at that time wholly unprecedented. As they went out of the house, Lord Falkland asked him, whether there had been a debate? to which Cromwell replied, he would take his word another time, and whispered him in the ear, that if the Remonstrance had been rejected, he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never have seen England more; and he knew there were many other honest men of the same resolution. So near, says Clarendon, was the poor kingdom at that time to its deliverance.

That memorable Remonstrance, which must have been intended by those who framed it to prepare the way for the evils which ensued, was carried by a majority of nine, when not half the members of the house were present: the promoters of the measure were so active, that not a man of their party was wanting, and at the last they carried it by the hour of the night, which drove away more old and infirm opposers than would have sufficed to turn the scale. Whitelock says, 'the sitting up all night caused many through weakness or weariness to leave the house, and Sir B. R. (Sir Benjamin Rudyard) to compare it to the verdict of a starved jury.' What Clarendon observes upon this occasion, is worthy of especial notice. 'I know not how those men have already answered it to their own consciences; or how they will answer it to Him who can discern their consciences; who having assumed their country's trust, and, it may be, with great earnestness laboured to procure that trust, by their supine laziness, negligence and absence, were the first inlets to those inundations; and so contributed to those licences which have overwhelmed us. For by this means a handful of men, much inferior in the beginning, in number and interest, came to give laws to the major part: and, to show that three diligent persons are really a greater and more significant number than ten unconcerned, they, by plurality of voices in the end, converted or reduced the whole body to their opinions. It is true, men of activity and faction, in any design, have many advantages, that a composed and settled council, though industrious enough, usually have not; and some that gallant men cannot give themselves leave to entertain: for besides their thorough considering and forming their counsels before they execute them, they contract a habit of ill nature and disingenuity necessary to their affairs, and the temper of those upon whom they are to work, that liberal-minded men would not persuade themselves to entertain, even for the prevention of all the mischief the others intend. And whosoever observes the ill arts, by which these men use to prevail upon the people in general;

general; their absurd, ridiculous lying, to win the affections, and corrupt the understandings of the weak; and the bold scandals to confirm the wilful; the boundless promises they presented to the ambitious; and their gross, abject flatteries and supplications to the vulgar-spirited, would hardly give himself leave to use those weapons for the preservation of the three kingdoms.'

By such means a civil war was brought on; by such weapons the civil and religious establishments of the kingdom were for a season overthrown. The wisest of men has said, 'the thing which hath been, it is that which shall be:' and the same means will produce a recurrence of the same evils unless right-minded men learn wisdom from the past. There is no historian, ancient or modern, with whose writings it so much behoves an Englishman to be thoroughly conversant, as Lord Clarendon.

One day when Cromwell had spoken warmly in the house, Lord Digby asked Hampden who he was; and Hampden is said to have replied, 'That sloven whom you see before you, hath no ornament in his speech; that sloven, I say, if we should ever come to a breach with the king (which God forbid!) in such a case I say, that sloven will be the greatest man in England.' - Baxter has said of Hampden, that he was a man whom 'friends and enemies acknowledged to be most eminent for prudence, piety and peaceable counsels.' That he was a man of consummate abilities is certain; that he was eminently pious may be believed, the darkest political intrigues being perfectly compatible with the eminent piety of that age; but no man even in that age had less pretension to be praised for his peaceable counsels. Had Hampden died soon after the meeting of the Long Parliament, when he possessed more power to do good or hurt, than any person of his rank had ever possessed before him, he would have left a character unimpeached, and unimpeachable, and have deservedly held in the hearts of all good and wise men, that place which he holds now with those only who know him by name alone, or who avow their attachment to the cause for which he bled in the field, without being more explicit than is convenient concerning the nature of that cause. His noble stand against an illegal exertion of the prerogative would have entitled him to the everlasting gratitude of his country; and if he could have been contented with defining that prerogative, limiting it within just bounds, redressing the existing grievances, and giving the constitution that character which it obtained after the Revolution, he would have left a memorable name. And this was in his power.

What his views were can only be inferred from the course of his conduct; for he was cut off before the time arrived for openly declaring

declaring them. The probable inference is, that like Ireton, Algernon Sidney, and Ludlow, he was a stern republican. Having read of no constitution so happily balanced as that which this country has enjoyed since the Revolution, and seeing nothing like it in our previous history, he may have believed such a balance of power to be unattainable, and therefore have resolved upon endeavouring to introduce a simpler and severer form. On the supposition that the alternative was an absolute monarchy, (such as, till his time, the sovereign of this kingdom had claimed, and the parliaments had acknowledged,) or a commonwealth, he may have properly and uprightly preferred that polity under which the most security had been enjoyed, the greatest talents had been called forth, and the most splendid exploits had been achieved. But if upon this fair ground, they, who reasoned thus, may be justified in wishing for the end at which they aimed, nothing can justify the means by which it was pursued; and in those means no man was more deeply implicated than Hampden. The Catholics never more boldly avowed the principle, that any means are lawful for compassing a necessary end, than the puritans acted upon it: even good men of feeble understandings, or weak characters, were too easily inveigled into that conclusion; whereas, as their great contemporary historian has justly observed, 'the true logic is that the thing desired is not necessary, if the ways are unlawful, which are proposed to bring it to pass.'

One set of men were bent upon pulling down Episcopacy, though it should occasion as bloody a war as any with which England had ever been afflicted. There were others who knew these men to be knaves, but were willing to act in concert with them, for the purpose of destroying the Monarchy, meaning, when that object should have been effected, to deal with them as they had dealt with others. From the hour of Strafford's arrest they felt their strength, and saw that, by the means which they were prepared to use, success was certain. His arrest had been carried with an overwhelming power, because the great majority of members dreaded the influence of a minister so resolute, so able, and so arbitrary, and therefore with the best intentions voted for it by acclamation. But when that illustrious victim was to be destroyed by measures more flagrantly illegal, and more tyrannical, than the worst actions of which he stood accused, they who had taken upon themselves to raise and to direct the storm well knew that the co-operation of no upright man could be expected. But they knew also where to look for other allies, and how to force most even of those who abhorred their purpose, to act in subservience to it.

Craft,



Craft, go thou forth  
Fear, make it safe for no man to be just!  
Wrong, be thou clothed in Power's comeliness!  
Keep down the best, and let the worst have power!

They proceeded upon a deliberate system of deceit and intimidation. Free license was given to a libellous press; the pulpits were manned with seditious preachers: they got the management of the city into their hands, by ousting from the common council the grave and substantial citizens, of whom till then it had been composed, and filling their places with men for whom factious activity was deemed sufficient qualification; and by choosing a demagogue Lord Mayor, who was ready for any act of rebellion and treason. How easily the populace were to be duped they well understood, and how justly characterized by a dramatist of their own age,—

Good silly people; souls that will  
Be cheated without trouble. One eye is  
Put out with zeal; the other with ignorance,  
And yet they think they're eagles!

They understood also how to act upon the moral weakness of those who were not likely to be deceived. They called the physical force of the city to their aid; and under fear of the mob, senators shrunk from their duty, when they ought rather to have laid down their lives in discharging it. The bishops were wanting to themselves and their Order and their King, when, under the influence of fear, they abandoned their right of voting upon the attainder of Strafford: and the lords, when a mob was at the door, and Mr. Hollis (who afterwards sat in judgement upon some of his colleagues) desired, in compliance with the demand of that mob, to know the names of those who were opposed to the wishes of the commons, passed, under that intimidation, a bill which they had twice before rejected. The moderate part of the members in that assembly might have out-voted the promoters of rebellion, four to one; but, in fear of their lives, they either left the house, or acquiesced in motions which they abhorred. The condition of the House of Commons was worse; because there the men of worst intentions were also the men of greatest ability, 'and the number of the weak and wilful,' says Clarendon, 'who naturally were to be guided by them, always made up a major part: so that from the beginning they were always able to carry whatsoever they set their hearts visibly upon; at least to discredit or disgrace any particular man, against whom they thought necessary to proceed, albeit of the most unblemished reputation and upon the most frivolous suggestions.' They waged war in parliament, as Cromwell did afterwards in Ireland, upon the principle of destroying all who opposed

them,

them, and the success was the same. At the most important debates there was seldom a fifth part of the members present, and often not more than twelve or thirteen in the House of Lords.

It is especially worthy of notice that the very faults for which the king's government was most severely reproached, were committed by the parliament in a far greater degree, and with every possible aggravation. One of the accusations against Charles was that he suffered himself to be guided by clerical counsellors; and the argument upon which they chiefly insisted in support of the bill for taking away the bishops' votes in parliament was 'that their intermeddling with temporal affairs was inconsistent with, and destructive to the exercise of their spiritual function;' 'whilst their reformation,' it has been truly observed, 'both in Scotland and this kingdom, was driven on by no men so much as those of their clergy, who were their instruments; as without doubt the Archbishop of Canterbury had never so great an influence upon the counsels at court as Dr. Burgess and Mr. Marshal had upon the Houses: neither did all the bishops of Scotland together meddle so much in temporal affairs as Mr. Henderson had done.' The breaches of privilege which Charles had committed were represented by them as destructive to the freedom of parliament, and yet their conduct, both to the King and to the House of Peers, was an absolute rooting up of all privileges. One of the most unpopular acts of the King had been the levying of ship-money without the consent of the parliament; an impost then only of doubtful legality, yet equally levied, excellently applied, and so light in itself that the payment which Hampden honourably disputed was only twenty shillings upon an estate of £500 a year. The parliament did not scruple, without consent of the King, to demand the twentieth part of every man's property in London, or so much as their seditious mayor and three other persons as seditious as himself might please to call a twentieth, to be levied by distress if the parties refused payment; and if the distress did not cover the assessment, then the defaulter was to be imprisoned where and as long as a Committee of the House of Commons should think proper, and his family was no longer to remain in London, or the suburbs, or the adjoining counties. With an impudence of slander, which would be incredible, if any thing were too bad to be believed of thoroughly factious men which will serve their purposes, they accused the King of exciting the massacre in Ireland, and fomenting the rebellion there; and they themselves employed the money and the means which were prepared for quelling that rebellion, in carrying on a war against the King at home.

The King more than once in his Declarations reminded them of a speech of Pym's, which they had heard deservedly applauded

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when it was directed against his measures; but which now bore against their own with greater force. 'The law,' said that powerful speaker, 'is that which puts a difference betwixt good and evil, just and unjust; if you take away the law, all things will be in a confusion; every man will become a law unto himself, which, in the depraved condition of human nature, must needs produce many great enormities. Lust will become a law, and envy will become a law, covetousness and ambition will become laws, and what dictates, what decisions such laws will produce, may easily be discerned:—it may indeed by sad instances over the whole kingdom.' And then the King set before them a picture of their own conduct, so ably and so truly drawn, that, if men were governed by their reason and not by their passions, that excellent paper alone would have given him the victory over all his enemies. In another declaration the King said 'whosoever harboured the least thought in his breast of ruining or violating the public liberty, or religion of the kingdom, let him be accursed; and he should be no counsellor of his that would not say Amen.' That which he charged the leaders of parliament with, 'was invading the public liberty; and his presumption might be very strong and vehement, that though they had no mind to be slaves, they were not unwilling to be tyrants. 'What is tyranny,' said he, 'but to admit no rules to govern by, but their own wills? And they knew the misery of Athens was at the highest, when it suffered under the Thirty Tyrants.' Hobbes, whose resolute way of thinking was more in accord with the temper of Cromwell's government than of the King's, speaks with contempt of these declarations; but if Charles had been served, or known how to serve himself, as ably with the sword as with the pen, the struggle would soon have been decided in his favour. What has been said of the son, that he never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one, might more truly be said of the father: in him, however, it proceeded from what, in other times and other circumstances, would have been a virtue. In speaking, he expressed his own judgement; in acting, he yielded to that of others, and was ruined by want of confidence in himself, and by the fear of doing wrong.

Clarendon, who writes always with the feelings of a Christian, as well as the wisdom of a statesman, has some remarks upon the conduct of the parliament, drawn up with his characteristic candour. 'A man shall not unprofitably spend his contemplation, that, upon this occasion, considers the method of God's justice (a method terribly remarkable in many passages, and upon many persons, which we shall be compelled to remember in this discourse,) that the same principles, and the same application of those principles, should be used to the wresting all sovereign power from

the crown, which the crown had a little before made use of for the extending its authority and power beyond its bounds, to the prejudice of the just rights of the subject. A supposed necessity was then thought ground enough to create a power, and a bare averment of that necessity, to beget a practice to impose what tax they thought convenient upon the subject, by writs of ship money never before known: and a supposed necessity now, and a bare averment of that necessity, is as confidently, and more fatally, concluded a good ground, to exclude the crown from the use of any power, by an ordinance never before heard of; and the same maxim of *salus populi suprema lex*, which had been used to the infringing the liberty of the one, made use of for the destroying the rights of the other.' Reflections of this kind must often have arisen in the mind of Charles himself. When, in his father's life-time, taking part in Buckingham's animosities, he promoted the impeachment of the Earls of Bristol and Middlesex, James said to him, with a foresight which has almost a prophetic character, that he would live to have his belly full of parliamentary impeachments. But he was always more sinned against than sinning: the most unjustifiable of his measures proceeded from a mistaken judgement, not an evil intention; the most unpopular of them, and that which gave the greatest advantage to his enemies, (the accusation of the six members) plainly arose from a perfect confidence in his own rectitude, and the goodness of his cause.

The melancholy warning which James gave his son proved the sagacity of that king, whose talents it has been too much the custom to decry. There is an expression of Laud's which bears with it even more of a prophetic appearance, from the accidental turn of the sentence. 'At this time, the parliament tendered two, and but two bills to the King to sign: this to cut off Strafford's head was one; and the other was that this parliament should neither be dissolved nor adjourned, but by the consent of both houses: *in which, what he cut off from himself, time will better shew than I can.* God bless the King and his royal issue!' Charles's feelings upon that fatal bill which perpetuated the parliament, and thereby in fact transferred the sovereignty to it, are well stated in the Εἰκὼν\* Βασιλική.

\* The authenticity of this Book has been attacked and defended with such cogent arguments and strong assertions, that as far as relates to external proofs, perhaps there is scarcely any other question in bibliography so doubtful. The internal evidence is wholly in its favour. Had it been the work of Gauden, or of any person writing to support the royal cause, a higher tone concerning episcopacy and prerogative would have been taken; there would have been more effort at justification; and there would not have been that inefficient but conscientious defence of fatal concessions; that penitent confession of sin where weakness had been sinful; that piety without alloy; that character of mild and even magnanimity; and that heavenly-mindedness, which render the Εἰκὼν Βασιλική one of the most interesting books in our language.

'By this act of the highest confidence, I hoped for ever to shut out and lock the door upon all present jealousies and future mistakes: I confess I did not thereby intend to shut myself out of doors, as some men have now requited me. A continual parliament, I thought, would but keep the commonweal in tune, by preserving laws in their due execution and vigour, wherein my interest lies more than any man's, since by those laws my rights as a King would be preserved, no less than my subjects; which is all I desired. More than the law gives me I would not have, and less the meanest subject should not. I cannot say properly that I repent of that act, since I have no reflections upon it as a sin of my will, though an error of too charitable a judgement.'

Charles appealed to that act with great force as a proof that he had no intention of recurring to arms. 'Sure,' he says, 'it had argued a very short sight of things, and extreme fatuity of mind in me, so far to bind my own hands at their request, if I had shortly meant to use a sword against them.' When Hampden spoke of the part which Cromwell might be expected to bear, in case they should come to a breach with the King, he deprecated such an event. But Hampden's studies were rather how to direct a civil war, than to avert one. Davila's history was so often in his hands, that it was called Colonel Hampden's prayer-book. The truth is, that a few men of daring spirit, great ability, and great popularity, some calling themselves Saints because they were schismatics, others styling themselves philosophers because they were unbelievers, had determined to overthrow the existing government in church and state; which they knew to be feasible, because circumstances favoured them, and they scrupled at nothing to bring about their end. Their plan was to force from the King all they could, and when they should have disarmed him of all power and means for the struggle, then to provoke him by insults and unreasonable demands, till he should appeal to the sword. This Charles himself saw. 'A grand maxim with them was,' he says, 'always to ask something which in reason and honour must be denied, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting peace at as high a rate as the worst effects of war; endeavouring first to make me destroy myself by dishonourable concessions, that so they might have the less to do.' 'The English,' says Hobbes, 'would never have taken well that the parliament should make war upon the King upon any provocation, unless it were in their own defence, in case the King should first make war upon them; and therefore it behoved them to provoke the King, that he might do something that might look like hostility.' Therefore (he elsewhere adds) they resolved to proceed with him like skilful hunters, first to single him out by men disposed in all

parts, to drive him into the open field, and then in case he should but seem to turn head, to call that a making of war against the parliament.'

Never was poor prince more miserably unprepared for such a contest than Charles, when he had no other alternative than to descend into the pit which his enemies had dug for him, or to raise his standard. When that determination was taken he had not 'one barrel of gunpowder, nor one musket, nor any other provision necessary for an army; and which was worse, was not sure of any port, to which they might be securely assigned; nor had he money for the support of his own table for the term of one month.' The single ship which reached him with supplies by running ashore, brought about 200 barrels of powder, 2 or 3000 arms, and seven or eight field-pieces; and with this he took the field, but in so helpless and apparently hopeless a condition, that even after he had set up that standard, which was so ominously blown down by a tempest, Clarendon says, it must solely be imputed to his own resolution, that he did not even then go to London and throw himself on the mercy of the parliament, which would have been surrendering at discretion to an enemy that gave no quarter. But he relied upon the goodness of his cause, and upon the loyalty and love of his subjects. That reliance did not deceive him: the gentlemen of England came forward with a spirit which enabled him to maintain the contest no inconsiderable time upon equal terms, and which, under the direction of more vigorous counsels, might many times have given him complete success. But it was otherwise appointed. Whoever has attentively perused the history of those unhappy years must have perceived that this war, more perhaps than any other of which the events have been recorded, was determined rather by accidents, and blunders, than by foreseen and prepared combinations. The man who most contributed to the King's utter overthrow by his actions, and the only man who from the beginning perceived wherein the strength of the King lay, and by what principle it might be opposed with the surest prospect of success, was Cromwell.

During the proceedings which provoked the war, Cromwell took no conspicuous part, but he was one of that number upon whose votes the leaders of the disaffected party could always rely. He was sincerely a puritan in his religious notions, in that respect more sincere than many of those with whom he then acted: for political speculations he probably cared less; but being a resolute man, and one whose purposes were straight forward, though he frequently proceeded by crooked ways, he, like his cousin Hampden, when he drew the sword, threw away the scabbard. When the war began, he received a Captain's commission, and raised a troop of horse in

his

his own country. Then it was that he gave the first proof of that sagacity which made him afterwards the absolute master of three kingdoms: in what manner it was now exercised may best be told in his own curious words. 'I was a person,' said he, 'that from my first employment was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trusts to greater, from my first being a Captain of a troop of horse; and I did labour as well as I could, to discharge my trust: and God blessed me as it pleased him; and I did truly and plainly; and then in a way of foolish simplicity (as it was judged by very great and wise men, and good men too) desired to make my instruments to help me in this work; and I will deal plainly with you; I had a very worthy friend then and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to all, Mr. John Hampden. At my first going out into this engagement, I saw their men were beaten at every hand; I did indeed, and desired him that he would make some additions to my Lord Essex's army of some new regiments; and I told him I would be serviceable to him in bringing such men in, as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work. This is very true that I tell you, God knows I lie not. Your troops, said I, are most of them old decayed serving men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and said I, their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality: do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be enabled to encounter gentlemen that have honour and courage, and resolution in them? Truly, I presented him in this manner conscientiously; and truly I did tell him you must get men of a spirit: and take it not ill what I say, (I know you will not) of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go, or else I am sure you will be beaten still; I told him so, I did truly. He was a wise and worthy person, and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. Truly I told him I could do somewhat in it; I did so; and truly I must needs say that to you, I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, and made some conscience of what they did; and from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten, and wherever they were engaged against the enemy, they beat continually.'

Acting upon this principle, Cromwell raised a troop of horse among his countrymen, mostly freeholders and freeholders' sons, men thoroughly imbued with his own puritanical opinions, and who engaged in the war 'upon matter of conscience:' and thus, says Whitelocke, being well armed within by the satisfaction of their own consciences, and without in good iron armour, they would as one man stand firmly, and charge desperately.' Cromwell knew his men, and on this occasion acting without hypocrisy, tried whether their consciences were proof; for upon raising them he told



them fairly that he would not cozen them by perplexed expressions in his commission to fight for King and parliament: if the King chanced to be in the body of the enemy, he would as soon discharge his pistol upon him, as upon any private man; and if their consciences would not let them do the like, he advised them not to enlist themselves under him.

He tried their courage also, as well as their consciences, by leading them into a false ambuscade; about twenty turned their backs and fled; upon which Cromwell dismissed them, desiring them however to leave their horses for those who would fight the Lord's battles in their stead. And as the Lord's battle was to be fought with the arm of flesh, he took especial care that horse and man in his troop should always be ready for service; and by making every man trust to himself alone, in all needful things, he enabled them all to rely upon each other, and act with confidence, without which courage is of little avail. For this purpose he required them to keep their arms clean, bright, and fit for immediate use; to feed and dress their own horses, and if need were, to sleep upon the ground with them. The officers wishing that this select troop should be formed into what they called 'a gathered church,' looked about for a fitting pastor, and it is to their credit that they pitched upon a man distinguished for his blameless manner of life, his undoubted piety, and his extraordinary talents. They invited Baxter to take charge of them. That remarkable man was then at Coventry, whither he had gone after the battle at Edgehill with a purpose to stay there, as a safe place, till one side or other had gotten the victory and the war was ended; 'for,' says he, 'so wise in matters of war was I, and all the country besides, that we commonly supposed that a very few days or weeks, by one other battle, would end the wars; and I believe that no small number of the parliament men had no more wit than to think so.' Baxter was at that time so zealous in his political feelings, that he thought it a sin for any man to remain neuter. But the invitation to take charge of 'a gathered church' did not accord with his opinions concerning ecclesiastical discipline. He therefore sent them a denial, reproving their attempt, and telling them wherein his judgement was against the lawfulness and convenience of their way. 'These very men,' he says, 'that then invited me to be their pastor, were the men that afterwards headed much of the army, and some of them were the forwardest in all our changes; which made me wish that I had gone among them, however it had been interpreted; for then all the fire was in one spark.'

Cromwell exerted himself with so much zeal and success in embodying and disciplining these troops, that he appears to have been raised to the rank of Colonel for that service alone. The

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first act which he performed, was to take possession of Cambridge, which Lord Capel would else have occupied; and to secure for the parliament the college plate, which otherwise would have been sent to the King. At this time he paid his uncle and godfather, Sir Oliver, a visit for the purpose of taking away his arms and all his plate: but behaving with the greatest personal respect to the head of his family, he asked his blessing, and would not keep on his hat in his presence. From Cambridge he kept down the loyal party in the adjoining counties of Suffolk and Norfolk, dispersing a confederacy which would soon have become formidable, and taking the whole of the stores which they had provided. This was a service which, in the language of the saints, was said to set the whole country right, by freeing it of the malignants. Stories of his cruelty were told at this time in the *Mercurius Aulicus* which were abominably false: men too easily believe evil of their enemies; and these calumnies obtained the readier credit because he and his men conceived themselves to be doing a work of reformation in injuring Peterborough Cathedral, demolishing the painted windows, breaking the organ, defacing tombs and statues, and destroying the books. But in other places where the ferocious spirit of Puritanism was not called forth, their conduct was more orderly than that of any other troops who were engaged on the same side. One of the journals of the day says of them, 'no man swears but he pays his twelpence; if he be drunk, he is set in the stocks, or worse; if one calls the other round-head, he is cashiered; insomuch that the countries where they come leap for joy of them, and come in and join with them. How happy were it if all the forces were thus disciplined!'

The relief of Gainsborough was the first conspicuous action in which Cromwell was engaged: 'this,' Whitelock says, 'was the beginning of his great fortunes, and now he began to appear to the world.' It was in this action that Charles Cavendish fell,

the young, the lovely and the brave!

Strew bays and flowers on his honoured grave!

one of the many noble spirits who were cut off in that mournful war. Cromwell says they had the execution of the enemy two or three miles, and that some of his soldiers killed two or three men apiece. He had a narrow escape the same year under the Earl of Manchester, when part of Newcastle's army were defeated near Horncastle. His horse was killed under him, and as he rose he was again knocked down, by the cavalier who charged him, and who is supposed to have been Sir Ingram Hopton. He was however remounted, and found himself, with that singular good fortune which always attended him, without a wound. At the close of the  
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year he took Hilsdon House by assault, and alarmed Oxford. Though Essex and Waller, who was called by his own party William the Conqueror, were still the favourite leaders of the Parliamentary forces, Cromwell was now looked upon as a considerable person, and was opposed in public opinion to Prince Rupert, before they ever met as hostile generals in the field. When the Prince was preparing to relieve York, the London journals represented him as afraid to try himself against this rising commander. 'He would rather suffer,' they said, 'his dear friends in York to perish than venture the loss of his honour in so dangerous a passage. He loves not to meet a Fairfax, nor a Cromwell, nor any of those men that have so much religion and valour in them.' The battle of Marston Moor soon followed; most rashly and unjustifiably brought on by Rupert, without consulting the Marquis of Newcastle, by whom, in all prudence, he ought to have been directed, and at a time when nothing but an immediate action could have prevented the Scotch and Parliamentary armies from quarrelling and separating, so that either, or both, would have been exposed to an utter overthrow. The Scotch, who were in the right wing, were completely routed; they fled in all directions, and were taken or knocked on the head by the peasantry: their general himself was made prisoner ten miles from the field by a constable. But the fortune of the day was decided by the English horse under Fairfax and Cromwell. They were equal in courage to the King's troops, and superior in discipline: and by their exertions a victory was gained, of which they were left to make full advantage at leisure, owing to the egregious misconduct of the Prince, and the resentment of the Earl of Newcastle, which in that fatal hour prevailed over a noble mind, and made him forsake the post of duty in disgust.

Hollis in his *Memoirs* has the folly as well as the baseness to accuse Cromwell of cowardice in this action. Some intention of detracting from his deserts seems to have been suspected at the time. The *Mercurius Britannicus* says 'there came out something in print which made a strange relation of the battle: 'tis pity the gallant Cromwell and his godly soldiers are so little heard on, and they with God were so much seen in the battle! But in these great achievements by night, it is hard to say who did most, or who did least. The best way to end our quarrel of who did most, is to say God did all.' On the other hand, Cromwell's partizans, to magnify his reputation, gave out that certain troops of horse, picked men, all Irish and all Papists, had been appointed by Prince Rupert, to charge in that part where he was stationed. And reports as slanderous as those which charged him with want of courage, were spread abroad to give him the whole credit of the day:

day: it was said that he had stopt the commander-in-chief Manchester, in the act of flight, saying to him, You are mistaken, my lord: the enemy is not there! The Earl of Manchester was as brave as Cromwell himself; no man who engaged in the rebellion demeaned himself throughout its course so honourably and so humanely, (Colonel Hutchinson, in his station, perhaps alone excepted,) and no man repented more sincerely, nor more frankly avowed his repentance for the part he had taken, when he saw the extent of the misery which he had largely contributed to bring upon his country.

Cromwell was now becoming an object of dislike or jealousy to those leaders of the rebellion whose reputation waned as his increased, or who had insanelly supposed, when they let the waters loose, that it would at any time be in their power to restrain them again within their proper bounds. The open declaration which he made against the King, at the commencement of hostilities, they had perhaps regarded with complacency, taking credit to themselves for comparative moderation. Because they could manage a party, they fancied themselves capable of managing a rebellion, not remembering, or not knowing that

When Evil strives, the worst have greatest names:

and not perceiving that when Cromwell, in opposition to the impudent hypocrisy of the Parliament's language respecting the King, spoke boldly out like one who was resolved to go all lengths, by that declaration he became the head of that party which, in all such convulsions, is sure to obtain the ascendancy. From the known opinions of Ireton, and the probable ones of Hampden, the two men whom he seems to have regarded with most deference, it is most likely that he entered into the war as a republican; and now he scrupled not to let his principles be known, saying he hoped soon to see the time when there would not be a single lord in England, and when Lord Manchester would be called nothing more than Sir Montague. But in his political as in his puritanical professions, Cromwell, who began in sincerity, was now acting a part. Experience was not lost upon so sagacious a man. The more he saw of others the higher he was led to rate himself; and Hobbes seems to have taken the just view of his motives when he says that his main policy was always to serve the strongest party well, and to proceed as far as that and fortune would carry him.

But Cromwell, who seldom mistook the characters of men, deceived himself when he supposed that he could make Manchester his instrument, as he afterwards duped Fairfax. For this must have been his secret object when, discoursing with him freely upon the state of the kingdom, and proposing something to which the  
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Earl replied that the Parliament would never approve it, he made answer, 'My lord, if you will stick firm to honest men, you shall find yourself in the head of an army that shall give the law to King and Parliament.' This startled Manchester, who already knew him to be a man of deep designs: and the manner in which the speech was received made Cromwell perceive that the Earl must be set aside, as a person who was altogether unfit for his views. Their mutual dislike broke out after the second battle of Newbury. Cromwell would have attempted to bring that doubtful conflict to a decided issue, by charging the King's army in their retreat; and from the excellent discipline of his brigade, and his skill and intrepidity in action, it is probable he might have inflicted a severe blow upon troops, who, it is acknowledged on their own part, were well enough pleased to be rid of an enemy that had handled them so ill. But Manchester thought the hazard too great in that season, being the winter, and that the ill consequences of a defeat would be far greater than the advantage to be gained by victory; for, he said, if they should be routed before Essex's army were reinforced, there would be an end of their pretences; and they should be all rebels and traitors, and executed as such by law. Cromwell repeated this to the House of Commons, and accused him of having betrayed the Parliament out of cowardice: Manchester justified himself, and in return charged Cromwell with the advice which he had offered him, to overawe both King and Parliament by means of the army. This open rupture occasioned much debate and animosity, and much alarm. 'What,' it was said, 'shall we continue bandying one against another? See what a wide gap and door of reproach we open unto the enemy! A plot from Oxford could have done no more than work a distance between our best resolved spirits.' The Parliament, though indignant at first at what the Earl had said concerning the course of law in case of their overthrow, were on the other hand alarmed at the discovery of a danger for their own army, which, if it had been apprehended by farsighted men, had never before been declared. Inquiry was called for, more on account of Cromwell's designs, than the Earl's error of judgement; and the Independents, as Cromwell's party now began to be called, chose rather to abandon their charge against Manchester, than risk the consequences of further investigation.

Manchester, on his part, made no further stir,—contented with as much repose as a mind not altogether satisfied with itself, would allow him to enjoy. But Essex, the Lord General, who had acted less from mistaken principles, than from weakness and vanity and pride, which made him the easy instrument of designing men, gave on this occasion the only instance of political foresight which he ever displayed. He perceived that Cromwell was a dangerous

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man; and taking counsel with Hollis and Stapleton, leading men among the Presbyterians, and with the Scotch Commissioners, resolved, if it were possible, to disable one whose designs were so justly to be apprehended. In serving with the Scotch, Cromwell had contracted some dislike and some contempt of them; which they were not slow in perceiving, as indeed he took little pains to disguise it; and Essex was in hopes that the Scotch might be brought forward to overthrow a man whom he now considered a formidable rival, as by their means the plans for rebellion had first been ripened, and the superiority afterwards obtained for the parliamentary forces. A meeting was held at his house to deliberate upon the best mode of proceeding, and Whitelock and Maynard were sent for at a very late hour, to give their opinions as lawyers. The Scotch chancellor explained the business to them in a characteristic speech. He began by assuring 'Master Maynard and Master Whitelock' of the great opinion which he and his brethren had of their worth and abilities, else that meeting would not have been desired. 'You ken vary weel,' said he, (as Whitelock reports his words) 'that Lieutenant General Cromwell is no friend of ours; and since the advance of our army into England, he hath used all underhand and cunning means to take off from our honour and merit of this kingdom; an evil requital of all our hazards and services. But so it is; and we are nevertheless fully satisfied of the affections and gratitude of the gude people of this nation. It is thought requisite for us, and for the carrying on of the cause of the twa kingdoms, that this obstacle or remora, may be removed out of the way, who we foresee will otherwise be no small impediment to us and the gude design we have undertaken. He not only is no friend to us and to the government of our church, but he is also no well wisher to his excellency, whom you and we all have cause to love and honour: and if he be permitted to go on his ways, it may, I fear, endanger the whole business; therefore we are to advise of some course to be taken for the prevention of that mischief. You ken vary weel the accord twixt the twa kingdoms, and the union by the solemn league and covenant; and if any be an *incendiary* between the twa nations, how he is to be proceeded against. Now the matter is, wherein we desire your opinions, what you tak the meaning of this word *incendiary* to be, and whether Lieutenant General Cromwell be not sic an *incendiary*, as is meant thereby, and whilk way wud be best to tak to proceed against him, if he be proved to be sic an *incendiary*, and that will clip his wings from soaring to the prejudice of our cause. Now you may ken that by our law in Scotland we clepe him an *incendiary* wha kindleth coals of contention, and raiseth differences in the state to the public damage, and he is *tanquam publicus hostis patriæ*. Whether

Whether your law be the same or not, you ken best wha are mickle learned therein: and therefore, with the favour of his excellency, we desire your judgements in these points.'

Whitelock and Maynard were men, of whom Lord Clarendon, who was intimate with them before the rebellion, has said, that 'though they bowed their knees to Baal, and so swerved from their allegiance, it was with less rancour and malice than other men. They never led, but followed, and were rather carried away with the torrent than swam with the stream, and failed through those infirmities which less than a general defection and a prosperous rebellion could never have discovered.' Such men were not likely to advise bold measures, in which they might be called upon to bear a part. They admitted the meaning of the word *incendiary* as defined by the Scotch chancellor and as it stood in the Covenant; but they required proofs of particular words or actions tending to kindle the fire of contention: they themselves had heard of none, and till the Scotch commissioners could collect such, they were of opinion that the business had better be deferred. And they spoke of the influence and favour which the person in question possessed. 'I take Lieutenant General Cromwell,' said Whitelock, 'to be a gentleman of quick and subtle parts, and one who hath, especially of late, gained no small interest in the House of Commons; nor is he wanting of friends in the House of Peers, nor of abilities in himself to manage his own part or defence to the best advantage.' Hollis, Stapleton, and some others, related certain acts and sayings of Cromwell which they considered such proofs as the law required, and they were for proceeding boldly with the design. But the Scotch, who, at that time, had less at stake than the leaders of the English Presbyterians, chose the wary part; and Essex was always incapable of doing either good or evil, except as a tool in the hands of others.

Cromwell was too able a politician not to have agents at all times in the enemy's quarters. Some who were present at this meeting were 'false brethren.' Whitelock and Maynard were liked by him the better for the opinion they had given; the attack which they had averted might easily have put an end to his career of advancement: a sense of the danger which he had escaped quickened his own measures, and with the co-operation of his friends, and others with whom he then acted, the Self-denying Ordinance was brought forward, an act which may justly be considered as the master-piece of his hypocritical policy. To effect this the alarm was first sounded by the 'drum ecclesiastic;' the pulpits were manned on one of the appointed fast days, and the topic which the London preachers everywhere insisted on, was the reproach to which parliament was liable for the great emoluments which its members

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members secured to themselves by the civil or military offices which they held; the necessity of removing this reproach, and of praying that God would take his own work into his own hand, and inspire other instruments to perfect what was begun, if those he had already employed were not worthy to bring so glorious a design to a conclusion. Parliament met the next day, and Sir Harry Vane (who, though a thorough fanatic in his notions, could not have acted more hypocritically if he had been pure knave) told them that if ever God had appeared to them, it was in the exercise of yesterday; he was credibly informed that the same lamentations and discourses as the godly preachers had made before them, had been made in all other churches; and this could only have proceeded from the immediate spirit of God. He then offered to resign an office which he himself held. Cromwell took up the strain; desired that he might lay down his commission, enlarged upon the vices which were got into the army, 'the profaneness and impiety, and absence of all religion, drinking, gaming, and all manner of license and laziness.' Till the whole army were new modelled, he said, and governed under a stricter discipline, they must not expect any notable success; and he desired the parliament not to be terrified with an imagination that if the highest offices were vacant, they should not be able to fill them with fit men, for, besides that it was not good to put so much trust in any arm of flesh as to think such a cause depended upon any one man, he took upon himself to assure them they had officers in their army who were fit to be generals in any enterprize in Christendom. The Self-denying Ordinance\* was

\* Mr. Oliver Cromwell endeavours to refute Lord Clarendon's account of the origin of this Ordinance. His arguments are that, in Cromwell's speech as given by Rushworth, there is no allusion to the fast sermons of the preceding day, and that in fact the fast was not appointed till after the Ordinance was past. That this gentleman should on all occasions be desirous of exculpating and vindicating his celebrated ancestor is to be expected;—there are cases in which erroneous opinions have their root in such good and noble feelings that he who would eradicate them must profess a sterner philosophy than a good man would willingly adopt. In the present instance it has been overlooked by Mr. Cromwell, that the fast of which he speaks was ordered to implore a blessing on the intended new model of the army, after the ordinance was past; and that that of which Clarendon speaks was appointed 'to seek God and desire his assistance to lead them out of the perplexities they were in.' A punster of that age said that Fast days were properly so called because they came so fast, there were frequently three or four in a month. He has also failed to observe that the direct allusion to the preceding fast was made not by Cromwell but by Sir Harry Vane. And when he censures Lord Clarendon for 'taking upon himself to determine the motives of those who brought about that Ordinance,' he forgets that the same motives are hinted at not obscurely by Rushworth, and directly stated by Whitelock, upon the avowal of some of the parties themselves. 'Some of them,' he says, 'confess that this was their design; and it was apparent in itself, and the reason of their doing this was to make way for others, and because they were jealous that the Lord General was too much a favourer of peace, and that he would be too strong a supporter of monarchy and of nobility and other old constitutions, which they had a mind to alter.' The only apparent error which Mr. Cromwell has pointed out in Lord Clarendon's statement is his saying that Whitelock voted for the

brought in, and after long debates, and some contests between the two Houses, it was carried. Essex was laid aside to reflect at leisure upon the irreparable evils which, through his agency, had been brought upon the kingdom, and Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed general in his stead.

Few men have ever possessed in such perfection as Cromwell the art of rendering others subservient to purposes which they abhorred, and of making individuals of the most opposite characters, views, and principles co-operate in a design which they would all have opposed if they had perceived it. This rare dissembler availed himself at the same time of the sensual and profligate unbeliever, the austere sectarian, and the fierce enthusiast; and played his master-game at once with Vane and Fairfax, though the former had the craft of the serpent, and the latter the simplicity of the dove, however unlike that bird in other respects. When Fairfax looked back upon his exploits, he rightly accounted them as his greatest misfortunes, and desired no other memorial of them than the Act of Oblivion: but he well knew that errors like his are not to be forgotten, that they are to be recorded as a warning for others; and the meagre memorial which he left of his own actions is not so valuable for any thing as for the expression of that feeling, wishing that he had died before he accepted the command after the Self-denying Ordinance was passed. 'By votes of the two houses of parliament,' he says, 'I was nominated, though most unfit, and so far from desiring it, that had not so great an authority (which was then unseparated from the royal interest) commanded my obedience, and had I not been urged by the persuasion of my nearest friends, I should have refused so great a charge. But whether it was from a natural facility in me that betrayed my modesty, or the powerful hand of God which all things must obey, I was induced to receive the command,—though not fully recovered from a dangerous wound which I had received a little before, and which I believe, without the miraculous hand of God, had proved mortal. But here, alas! when I bring to mind the sad consequences that crafty and designing men have brought to pass since those first innocent undertakings, I am ready to let go that confidence I once had with God, when I could say with Job, "till I die I will not remove my integrity from me, nor shall my heart reproach me so long as I live." But I am now more fit to take up his complaint, and say, "Why did I not die?" Why did I not give up the ghost when

the Ordinance, Whitelock having inserted in his Memorials his speech against that measure. But it is very probable that he who opposed the Ordinance in December when it was brought forward, might have assented to it three months afterwards for the reason assigned by Clarendon, that there would be a general dissatisfaction among the people of London if it were rejected.'

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my life was on the confines of the grave?' Fairfax was a good soldier; but he had no other talents. It is saying little for him that he meant well, seeing he was so easily persuaded not only to permit wicked actions to be done, but to commit them himself. His understanding was so dull, that even in this passage he speaks of the parliament as not being at that time separated from the interests of the King; and his feelings were so obtuse that even when he penned this memorial he felt no remorse for the execution of Lucas and Lisle and the excellent Lord Capel, whose blood was upon his head, but justified what he had done as according to his commission and the trust reposed in him!

Such a man was easily induced to request that the Ordinance might be dispensed with in Cromwell's behalf, first for a limited time and then indefinitely, to act under him as commander of the horse. They crippled the royal forces in the west, where so much zeal and heroic virtue had successfully been displayed on the King's side, but where every thing now went to ruin under the profligate misconduct of Goring, a general who, notwithstanding his unquestionable courage and military talents, ought to have been considered as disqualified for any trust by his vices. Ere long they were ordered to the North, where Charles had struck a great blow by the taking of Leicester, and where his fortunes might still have been retrieved had it not been for the unsteadiness and irresolution of those about him, and that unhappy diffidence of himself which made him so often act against his own judgement in deference to others.

With shaking thoughts no hands can draw aright!

After some injudicious movements, the effect of bad information and vacillating councils, the King met the enemy at Naseby. All those accidents upon which so much depends in war were against him; his erroneous information continued till the very hour of the action, so that the good order in which his army had been drawn up was broken, and the advantageous position which they had occupied abandoned; in the action itself the same kind of misconduct, which had proved so disastrous at Marston Moor, was committed with consequences still more fatal. Prince Rupert in time of action always forgot the duty of a general, suffering himself to be carried away by mere animal courage; no experience, however dearly bought, was sufficient to cure him of this fault. His charge, as usual, was irresistible; but having broken and routed that wing of the enemy which was opposed to him, he pursued them as if the victory were secure. In this charge Ireton was wounded, thrown from his horse and taken. The day was won by Cromwell, whose name is not mentioned by Ludlow in his account of the battle! An unaccountable incident contributed to, and perhaps mainly occasioned

its loss. Just as the King, at the head of his reserve, was about to charge Cromwell's horse, the Earl of Carnewaith suddenly seized his bridle, exclaiming, with 'two or three full-mouthed Scottish oaths,—will you go upon your death in an instant?' A cry ran through the troops that they should march to the right, in which direction the King's horse had been turned, and which, in the situation of the field, was bidding them shift for themselves. It was in vain that Charles, with great personal exertion and risk, endeavoured to rally them. Neither these troops nor Prince Rupert's, when he returned from his rash pursuit, could be brought to rally and form in order; a most important part of discipline, in which the soldiers under Fairfax and Cromwell were perfect, the latter having now modelled the army as he had from the beginning his own troop. The day was irrecoverably lost, and with it the King and the kingdom. The number of slain on the King's part did not exceed 700, but more than 5,000 prisoners were taken, being the whole of the infantry, with all the artillery and baggage. In the pursuit above a hundred women were killed, (such was the temper of the conquerors!) some of whom were the wives of officers of quality. The King's cabinet fell into their hands, with the letters between him and the queen, 'of which,' says Clarendon, 'they made that barbarous use as was agreeable to their natures, and published them in print; that is, so much of them as they thought would asperse either of their Majesties, and improve the prejudice they had raised against them; and concealed other parts which would have vindicated them from many particulars with which they had aspersed them.'

Upon this act of the parliament the King has expressed his feelings in the *Icôn* in that calm strain of dignity by which the book is distinguished and authenticated. 'The taking of my letters,' he says, 'was an opportunity, which as the malice of mine enemies could hardly have expected, so they knew not how with honour and civility to use it. Nor do I think, with sober and worthy minds, any thing in them could tend so much to my reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the divulgers: the greatest experiments of virtue and nobleness being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy; and the greatest obligations being those which are put upon us by them from whom we could least have expected them. And such I should have esteemed the concealing of my papers, the freedom and secrecy of which commands a civility from all men not wholly barbarous. Yet since Providence will have it so, I am content so much of my heart (which I study to approve to God's Omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without any of those dresses or popular captations which some men use in their speeches and expresses. I wish my subjects

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had yet a clearer sight into my most retired thoughts; where they might discover how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preserve my own rights, than to preserve their peace and happiness; and that extreme grief to see them both deceived and destroyed. Nor can any men's malice be gratified farther by my letters than to see my constancy to my wife, the laws and religion.' Then speaking of his enemies, he says, 'they think no victories so effectual to their designs, as those that most rout and waste my credit with my people; in whose hearts they seek by all means to smother and extinguish all sparks of love, respect, and loyalty to me, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover mine, the laws and the kingdom's liberties, which some men seek to overthrow. The taking away of my credit is but a necessary preparation to the taking away of my life and my kingdom. First I must seem neither fit to live, nor worthy to reign. By exquisite methods of cunning and cruelty, I must be compelled first to follow the funerals of my honour, and then be destroyed.'

In another of these beautiful Meditations, looking back upon the course of the war, he says, 'I never had any victory which was without my sorrow, because it was on mine own subjects, who, like Absalom, died many of them in their sin. And yet I never suffered any defeat which made me despair of God's mercy and defence. I never desired such victories as might serve to conquer, but only restore the laws and liberties of my people, which I saw were extremely oppressed, together with my rights, by those men who were impatient of any just restraint. When Providence gave me, or denied me victory, my desire was neither to boast of my power, nor to charge God foolishly, who I believed at last would make all things to work together for my good. I wished no greater advantages by the war, than to bring my enemies to moderation, and my friends to peace. I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never prayed more for victory over others, than over myself. When the first was denied, the second was granted me, which God saw best for me.'

The influence of pure religion upon a sound understanding and a gentle heart has never been more finely exemplified than by Charles during the long course of his afflictions. Cromwell also was religious, but his religion at the time when it was most sincere was most alloyed, and it acted upon an intellect and disposition most unlike the King's. Clear as his head was in action, his apprehension ready, and his mind comprehensive as well as firm; when out of the sphere of business and command, his notions were confused and muddy, and his language stifled the thoughts which it affected to bring forth, producing by its curious infelicity a more than oracular obscurity. The letter which he addressed to the Speaker

after the battle of Naseby is one of the most lucid specimens of his misty style. After saying that for three hours the fight had been very doubtful, and stating what were the results of the action, he proceeds thus: 'Sir, this is none other but the hand of God, and to him alone belongs the glory, wherein none are to share with him. The general served you with all faithfulness and honour; and the best commendation I can give him is, that I dare say he attributes all to God, and would rather perish than assume to himself, which is an honest and a thriving way; and yet as much for bravery may be given to him in this action, as to a man. Honest men served you faithfully in this action. Sir, they are trusty, I beseech you in the name of God not to discourage them. I wish this action may beget thankfulness and humility in all that are concerned in it. He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he trust God for the liberty of his conscience, and you for the liberty he fights for: so thus he rests who is your humble servant, Oliver Cromwell.'

After the fatal defeat at Naseby the royal cause soon became hopeless. Bristol was not better defended by Prince Rupert than it had been by Nathaniel Fiennes. During the siege, Fairfax and Cromwell narrowly escaped from being killed by the same ball. The latter declared none but an atheist could deny that their success was the work of the Lord. In his official letter he said, 'it may be thought some praises are due to these gallant men of whose valour so much mention is made; their humble suit to you and all that have an interest in this blessing, is, that in remembrance of God's praises they may be forgotten. It's their joy that they are instruments to God's glory and their country's good. It's their honour that God vouchsafes to use them. Sir, they that have been employed in this service know that faith and prayer obtained this city for you.' The faith and prayers of William Dell and Hugh Peters, chaplains to the besieging forces, were assisted by the experience of Skippon in military operations, by the fear of a disaffected party within the city, and by the sample which the besiegers had given of their intention to put their enemies to the sword if they took the place by storm. Cromwell next took Devizes, and disarmed and dispersed the club-men in Hampshire, who having originally associated to protect themselves against the excesses of both parties, contributed to the miseries of the country by making a third party as oppressive as either. Winchester surrendered to him, and on that occasion he gave an honourable example of fidelity to his engagements; six of his men being detected in plundering, in violation of the terms of capitulation, he hung one of them, and sent the other five to the King's governor at Oxford to be punished at his discretion. Basing House, which had been so long and bravely defended,

fended, yielded to this fortunate general, who never failed in any enterprise which he undertook. He then rejoined Fairfax in the west to complete the destruction of a gallant army which had been ruined by worthless and wicked commanders. Lord Hopton, one of those men whose virtues redeem the age, had taken the command of it in a manner more honourable to himself than the most glorious of those achievements in which he had formerly been successful: there was no possibility of averting or even delaying a total defeat. When Prince Charles entreated him to take upon himself the forlorn charge of commanding it, Lord Hopton replied, that it was the custom now, when men were not willing to submit to what they were enjoined, to say it was against their honour; for himself he could not obey in this instance without resolving to lose his honour,—but since his Highness thought it necessary so to command him, even at that cost he was ready to obey. He made so gallant a resistance at Torrington, though great part of his men behaved basely, that the parliamentary forces suffered greater loss than at any other storm in which they were engaged; and when his army was finally broken up, as much by the licence and mutinous temper of the men and officers, as by the enemy's overpowering force, he disdained to make terms for himself, and retired with the ammunition and those who remained faithful into Pendennis castle. The last possibility which remained to the King of collecting an army in the field, was destroyed when Lord Astley was defeated by superior numbers and taken. At the beginning of the war, this gallant soldier, before he charged in the battle of Edgehill, made a prayer, of which Hume says, there were certainly much longer ones said in the parliamentary army, but it may be doubted whether there were so good a one. It was simply this: 'O Lord! thou knowest how busy I must be this day! If I forget thee, do not thou forget me.' He now concluded his brave and irreproachable career, by a saying not less to be remembered by the enemy's officers, 'You have done your work, and may now go to play, unless you chuse to fall out among yourselves.'

Even before the loss of Bristol, Charles, whose judgement seldom deceived him, had seen that the worst was to be expected, and made up his mind to endure it as became him. In reply to a letter from Prince Rupert, who had advised him again to propose a treaty after that at Uxbridge had failed, he pointed out the certainty that no terms would be granted which it would not be criminal in him to accept; and at the same time fairly acknowledged the hopelessness of his affairs, save only for his trust in God. 'I confess,' he said, 'that speaking either as to mere soldier or statesman, I must say there is no probability but of my ruin: but as to Christian, I must tell you that God will not suffer rebels to



prosper, or his cause to be overthrown : and whatsoever personal punishment it shall please him to inflict upon me, must not make me repine, much less to give over the quarrel. Indeed I cannot flatter myself with expectation of good success more than this, to end my days with honour and a good conscience; which obliges me to continue my endeavours, as not despairing that God may in due time avenge his own cause. Though I must avow to all my friends that he that will stay with me at this time must expect and resolve, either to die for a good cause, or, which is worse, to live as miserable in the maintaining it, as the violence of insulting rebels can make him.' The prospect of dying in the field, which it appears from these expressions the king contemplated with a complacent resignation, and perhaps with hope, was at an end when Lord Astley was defeated : in expectation of this he had already consulted for the safety of the Prince of Wales, and it was now to be determined whither he should betake himself. He offered to put himself in the hands of two commanders who at some distance were blockading Oxford, if they would pass their words that they would immediately conduct him to the parliament; for in battle or in debate Charles was always ready to face his enemies, and in debate with the advantage of a collected mind, a sound judgement, a ready utterance, and a thorough knowledge of the points in dispute. He knew also that throughout this fatal contest, the hearts of the great majority of the people were with him; and though the strength of the rebellious party lay in London, yet even there he thought so much loyalty was left and so much regard for his person, that he would willingly have been in it at this time. But the parliamentary generals, whose purpose it always was to prevent the possibility of any accommodation which would have restored even a nominal authority to the sovereign, refused to enter into any such engagement; and the avenues of the city were strictly watched, lest he should enter secretly. Another and better hope was to join Montrose, who was then in his career of victory. The representations of M. Montrevil, a French agent who was at that time with the Scotch army before Newark, and the promises of the Scotch made to that agent, that they would receive him as their sovereign, and effectually join with him for the recovery of his just rights, induced him to take that step. 'They have often,' he says, 'professed they have fought not against me but for me. I must now resolve the riddle of their loyalty, and give them opportunity to let the world see they mean not what they do, but what they say.'

When that memorable bargain was concluded, by which the Scotch sold and the English bought their king, Cromwell was one of the commissioners. Yet it is represented by his bitterest enemy, Hollis, that nothing could have been so desirable for Cromwell,

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well, and nothing so much wished for by that party who were bent upon destroying monarchy, as that the Scotch should have taken Charles with them into Scotland, instead of delivering him into the hands of the parliament; and he speaks of the sale as singularly honourable to both the contracting parties! 'Here then,' he says, 'the very mouth of iniquity was stopt: malice itself had nothing to say to give the least blemish to the faithfulness and reality of the kingdom of Scotland, the clearness of their proceedings, their zeal for peace, without self-seeking and self-ends to make advantage of the miseries and misfortunes of England.' Charles himself saw the transaction in a very different light, as posterity has done. He declared that he was bought and sold. 'Yet, (he says in the *Icôn*,) may I justify those Scots to all the world in this, that they have not deceived me, for I never trusted to them, further than to men. If I am sold by them, I am only sorry they should do it; and that my price should be so much above my Saviours'!—Better others betray me than myself, and that the price of my liberty should be my conscience. The greatest injuries my enemies seek to inflict upon me cannot be without my own consent.'

The Scotch nation in general were sensible of the infamy which had been brought upon them by this act. The English were at first deceived by it: for rightly perceiving that peace and tranquillity could not be restored by any other means than by the restoration of the King to those just rights and privileges which he holds for the good of all, they believed that he was now to be brought in honour and safety to London. As he was taken from Newcastle to Holmby, they flocked from all parts to see him; and scrofulous patients were brought to receive the royal touch, in full belief of its virtue, and with entire affection to his person. If the intentions of Hollis and the Presbyterian party had been such as they were afterwards desirous to make the world believe, they had it in their power now to have imposed upon the King any terms to which he could conscientiously have submitted, and the army were not yet so completely lords of the ascendant, as to have prevented such an accommodation. But that party had brought on the civil war; had slandered the King in the foulest spirit of calumny; and on every occasion had acted towards him precisely in that manner which would wound and insult him most:—it is impossible to know what catastrophe they designed for the tragedy which they had planned and carried on thus far; but it is not possible that they intended a termination which should have been compatible with the honour and well-being of the sovereign whom they had so bitterly injured. With that brutality which characterized all their proceedings towards him, they refused to let any of his chaplains attend him at this

time. There is no subject upon which the King, in his lonely meditations, has expressed himself with more feeling than upon this. He says, 'when Providence was pleased to deprive me of all other civil comforts and secular attendants, I thought the absence of them all might best be supplied by the attendance of some of my chaplains, whom for their functions I reverence, and for their fidelity I have cause to love. By their learning, piety, and prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to sustain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in God's good time. The solitude they have confined me unto adds the wilderness to my temptation; for the company they obtrude upon me is more sad than any solitude can be. If I had asked my revenues, my power of the militia, or any one of my kingdoms, it had been no wonder to have been denied in those things, where the evil policy of men forbids all just restitution, lest they should confess an injurious usurpation: but to deny me the ghostly comfort of my chaplains seems a greater rigour and barbarity than is ever used by Christians to the meanest prisoners and greatest malefactors. But my agony must not be relieved with the presence of any one good angel; for such I account a learned, godly, and discreet divine: and such I would have all mine to be.—To Thee, therefore, O God, do I direct my now solitary prayers! What I want of other's help, supply with the more immediate assistance of thy spirit: in Thee is all fullness: from Thee is all sufficiency: by Thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough and comfort enough. Thou art my King, be also my prophet and my priest. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me, and be Thou ever with me.'

The parliamentary leaders had no sooner won the victory than they began to divide the spoils. The Parliament, by virtue of that sovereign authority which it had usurped, created Essex and Warwick Dukes; Hollis was made a Viscount; Hazlerigg, Vane, Fairfax and Cromwell, Barons, the latter with a revenue of £2500 charged upon the estates of the Marquis of Worcester. They filled up the places of those members who followed the King's party, or whom their violent measures had driven from the House; and this was done with a contempt of the laws which indicated that the people of England were now under the dominion of the sword. 'First,' says Hollis, (who being now on the weaker side could see the enormity of their proceedings),—'first they did all they could to stop writs from going any whither but where they were sure to have fit men chosen for their turns; and many an unjust thing was done by them in that kind; sometimes denying writs, sometimes delaying till they had prepared all things and made it, as they thought, cock sure; many times Committee-men in the country,

such

such as were their creatures, appearing grossly, and bandying to carry elections for them; sometimes they did it fairly by the power of the army, causing soldiers to be sent and quartered in the towns where elections were to be; awing and terrifying, sometimes abusing and offering violence to the electors.' The Self-denying Ordinance was totally disregarded now: it had effected the object for which it was designed; and perhaps, as the war in England was at an end, it may have been fairly supposed to have expired. Many officers therefore were now returned, and among them, Ludlow, Ireton and Fairfax. The two former were republicans, who emulated the old Romans in the severity of their character and looked upon it as a virtue to be inexorable. Ludlow has related of himself that, meeting in a skirmish with an old acquaintance and schoolfellow who was on the King's side, he expressed his sorrow at seeing him in that party, and offered to exchange a shot with him. He relates also that when he was defending Warder Castle, one of the besiegers who was killed, said just before he expired, that he saw his own brother fire the musket by which he received his mortal wound; and instead of expressing a human feeling at this frightful example of the horrors of civil war, he adds that it might probably be, his brother having been one of those who defended the breach where he was shot; 'but if it were so, he might justly do it by the laws of God and man, it being done in the discharge of his duty and in his own defence.' With such deliberate inhumanity did Ludlow in old age and retirement comment upon a fact, which, even in the fever of political enthusiasm and the heat of battle, ought to have made him shudder.

That party, who would have been satisfied with the establishment of a Presbyterian Church, and the enjoyment of offices, honours and emoluments under a King whom they wished to preserve only as a puppet for their own purposes, would now gladly have reduced an army of which they began to stand in fear: for since it had been new modelled, the Independents had obtained the ascendancy there; and those principles which Cromwell at the first avowed to his own troop, were now becoming common among the soldiers. They had been taught to believe that the King was an enemy and a tyrant: and drawing from false premises a just conclusion, they reasoned that, because it was lawful to fight against him, it was right also to destroy him. They saw through the hypocrisy of the Presbyterians, whom they called with sarcastic truth the *dissembly* men; and being led by their own situation to speculate upon the origin of dignities and powers, they asked what were the Lords of England but William the Conqueror's Colonels? or the Barons but his Majors? or the Knights but his Captains? The Parliament had just reason to fear an army in this temper; and the army had equal reason to complain of the Parliament, because their pay was in arrears: they were

were therefore to be disbanded, the commissioned officers to receive debentures for what was due to them, and the non-commissioned officers and privates a promise, secured upon the excise. But men who had arms in their hands, were easily persuaded that they might use them with as much justice to intimidate the Parliament, as to subdue the King. That they might have their deliberative assemblies also, under whose authority they might proceed, they appointed a certain number of officers which they called the General Council of Officers, who were to act as their House of Peers; and the common soldiers chose three or four from every regiment, mostly corporals or serjeants, few or none above the rank of an ensign, who were called Agitators, and were to be the army's House of Commons. The president of these Agitators was a remarkable man, by name James Berry: he had originally been a clerk in some iron-works. In the course of the revolution he sat in the Upper House. He was one of the principal actors in pulling down Richard Cromwell; became afterward one of the Council of State; was imprisoned after the Restoration as one of the four men whom Monk considered the most dangerous; and finally, being liberated, became a gardener, and finished his life in obscurity and peace.

Both the Council of Officers and the Agitators were composed of Cromwell's creatures, or of men who being thorough fanatics, did his work equally well in stupid sincerity. They presented a bold address to Parliament declaring that they would neither be divided nor disbanded till their full arrears were paid, and demanding that no member of the army should be tried by any other judicatory than a council of war. 'They did not,' they said, 'look upon themselves as a band of janizaries, hired only to fight the battles of the Parliament; they had voluntarily taken up arms for the liberty of the nation of which they were a part, and before they laid those arms down they would see that end well provided for.' The men who presented this address behaved with such audacity at the bar of the House of Commons, that there were some who moved for their committal: but they had friends even there to protect them, one of whom replied that he would have them committed indeed, but it should be to the best inn in the town, where plenty of good sack and sugar should be provided for them. As the dispute proceeded, the army held louder language, and the Parliament took stronger measures, causing some of the boldest among the soldiers to be imprisoned. Cromwell supported the House in this, expressed great indignation at the insolence of the troops, and complained even with tears, that there had even been a design of killing him, so odious had he been made to the army by men who were desirous of again embruing the nation in blood! Yet he had said to Ludlow 'that it was a miserable thing

thing to serve a parliament, to whom let a man be never so faithful, if one pragmatistical fellow amongst them rise up and asperse him, he shall never wipe it off; whereas,' said he, 'when one serves under a general, he may do as much service and yet be free from all blame and envy. And during these very discussions he whispered in the House to Ludlow, these men will never leave till the army pull them out by the ears.' If Ludlow suspected any sinister view in Cromwell, he was himself too much engaged with the army to notice it at that time. But there were other members whose opposite interest opened their eyes; and who, knowing that Cromwell was the secret director of those very measures against which he inveighed, resolved to send him to the Tower, believing that if he were once removed the army might easily be reduced to obedience. They estimated his authority more justly than they did their own. It appears that he expected a more violent contest than actually ensued; for he and many of the Independents privately removed their effects from London, 'leaving,' says Hollis, 'city and parliament as marked out for destruction.' He had timely notice of the design against him, and on the very morning when they proposed to arrest him, he set out for the army: but still preserving that dissimulation which he never laid aside where it could possibly be useful, he wrote to the House of Commons, saying, that his presence was necessary to reclaim the soldiers, who had been abused by misinformation; and desiring that the General (Fairfax) and such other officers who were in the House or in town, might be sent to their quarters to assist him in that good work.

On the very day that Cromwell joined the army, the King was carried from Holmby by Joyce. That *grey discrowned head*, as he himself beautifully calls it, the sight of which drew tears from his friends, and moved many even of his enemies to compunction as well as pity, excited no feeling or respect in this hard and vulgar ruffian, who had formerly been a taylor and afterwards a menial servant in Hollis's family. He produced a pistol as the authority which the King was to obey, and Charles believed that the intention in carrying him away was to murder him. Whether Joyce was employed by the Agitators, of whose body he was one, or whether, as Hollis asserts and as is generally believed, Cromwell sent him, is of no consequence in Cromwell's character, (though his descendant strenuously endeavours to show that he had no concern in the transaction,) for it is only a question whether he was mediately or immediately the author. The insolence with which the act was performed is imputable to the agent; and there is some reason to believe that, whatever may have been the intention of Ireton, St. John, Vane and other men of that stamp, Cromwell himself was at that time very far from having determined upon the death of the King.

King. It was plain that the Parliament had no intention of making any terms with the King, except such as would have left him less real power than the Oligarchs of Venice entrusted to their Doge; and it was not less obvious that, as Charles might expect more equitable conditions from the army, who would treat with him as a part of the nation, not as a body contending for sovereignty, so on his side he would come to the treaty with better hope and a kindlier disposition. Indeed at this time he looked upon them with the feelings of a British King: 'though they have fought against me,' said he, 'yet I cannot but so far esteem that valour and gallantry they have sometimes showed, as to wish I may never want such men to maintain myself, my laws and my kingdom, in such a peace as wherein they may enjoy their share and proportion as much as any men.' He had changed his keepers and his prison, but not his captive condition; only there was this hope of bettering, that they who were such professed patrons of the people's liberty, could not be utterly against the liberty of the King: 'what they demanded for their own conscience,' said he, 'they cannot in reason deny to mine;' and it consoled him to believe that the world would now see a King could not be so low as not to be considerable, adding right to that party where he appeared.

So far he was right; it is the lively expression of Hollis that the army made that use of the King which the Philistines would have made of the ark, and that and their power together made them prevail. The description which he gives of the parliament at this crisis holds forth an awful warning to those who fancy that it is as easy to direct the commotions of a state as to excite them; it is a faithful picture drawn by a leading member of that faction which had raised and hitherto guided the rebellion. 'They now thunder upon us,' he says, 'with remonstrances, declarations, letters and messages every day, commanding one day one thing, next day another, making us vote and unvote, do and undo; and when they had made us do some ugly thing, jeer us, and say our doing justifies their desiring it.' 'We sell as low as dirt,' he says: 'take all our ordinances in pieces, change and alter them according to their minds, and (which is worst of all) expunge our declaration against their mutinous petition, cry *peccavimus* to save a whipping: but all would not do!—All was dasht;' (it is still Hollis the parliamentarian who speaks:) 'instead of a generous resistance to the insolencies of perfidious servants, vindicating the honour of the parliament, discharging the trust that lay upon them to preserve a poor people from being ruined and enslaved to a rebellious army, they deliver up themselves and kingdom to the will of their enemies; prostitute all to the lust of heady and violent men; and suffer Mr. Cromwell to saddle, ride, switch and spur them at his pleasure.' Ride them indeed he did

with



with a martingale; and it was not all the wincing of the galled jade that could shake the practised horseman in his seat. Poor Hollis complains that 'presbyterians were trumps no longer.' Clubs were trumps now, and the knave in that suit as in the former, was the best card in the pack. When the Parliament had done whatever the army required, 'prostituting their honours, renouncing whatever would be of strength or safety to them, casting themselves down naked, helpless and hopeless at the proud feet of their domineering masters, it is all to no purpose, it does but encourage those merciless men to trample the more upon them.'

So it was, and properly so. This was the reward of the Presbyterian party

'For letting rapine loose and murder  
To rage just so far and no further,  
And setting all the land on fire  
To burn to a scantling and no higher;  
For venturing to assassinate,  
And cut the throats of Church and State:

This they had done; and instead of being, as they had calculated upon being,

'allowed the fittest men  
To take the charge of both again,'

they were now

'Out-gifted, out-impulsed, out-done,  
And out-revealed at carryings-on;  
Of all their dispensations worm'd,  
Out-providenced, and out-reform'd,  
Ejected out of Church and State  
And all things—but the people's hate.'

As the question stood between the parliament and the army, the army was in the right. Whatever arguments held good for resisting the King, availed *a fortiori* for resisting the parliament: its little finger was heavier than his loins; and where the old authorities had used a whip, the parliament had scourged the nation with scorpions. The change in ecclesiastical affairs was of the same kind. New Presbyterian was old Priest written large—and in blacker characters. Cromwell had force of reason as well as force of arms on his side; and if he had possessed a legitimate weight in the country, like Essex, it is likely that he would now have used it to the best purpose, and have done honourably for himself and beneficially for the kingdom, what was afterwards effected by Monk, with too little regard to any interest except his own. It is said that he required for himself, as the reward of this service to his sovereign, the garter, the title of the Earl of Essex, vacant by the death of the late general, and a proper object of ambition to Cromwell, as  
having

having formerly been in his family; to be made First-Captain of the Guards, and Vicar-General of the Kingdom. All this he would have deserved, if he had restored peace and security to the nation by re-establishing the monarchy with those just limitations, the propriety of which was seen and acknowledged by the King himself. But if Cromwell desired to do this, which may reasonably be presumed, the power which he then possessed was not sufficient for it. It was a revolutionary power, not transferable to the better cause without great diminution. In the movements of the revolutionary sphere his star was rising, but it was not yet lord of the ascendant; and, in raising himself to his present station, he had, like the unlucky magician in romance, conjured up stronger spirits than he was yet master enough of the black art to controul. Under his management, the moral discipline of the army was as perfect as that of the Swedes under the great Gustavus, whom it is not improbable that Cromwell in this point took for his model. He had been most strict and severe in chastising all irregularities, 'insomuch,' says Clarendon, 'that sure there was never any such body of men, so without rapine, swearing, drinking, or any other debauchery—but the wickedness of their hearts.' He had brought them to this state by means of religious enthusiasm, the most powerful and the most perilous of all principles which an ambitious man can call into action. When the Parliamentary army first took the field every regiment had its preacher, who beat the drum ecclesiastic, and detorted scripture to serve the purposes of rebellion. The battle of Edgehill sickened them of service in the field; almost all of them went home after that action; and when the tide of success set in against the King, they had little inclination to return to their posts, because the other sectaries with whom the army swarmed beat them at their own weapons. Baxter says it was the ministers that lost all, by forsaking the army and betaking themselves to an easier and quieter way of life; and he especially repented that he had not accepted the chaplainship of that famous troop with which Cromwell began his army; persuading himself that if he had been among them he might have prevented the spreading of that fire which was then in one spark. Baxter is one of those men whose lives exemplify the strength and the weakness of the human mind. He fancied that the bellows which had been used for kindling the fire, could blow it out when the house was in flames! He might as well have supposed that he could put out Etna with an extinguisher, or have stilled an earthquake by setting his foot upon the ground.

In the anarchy which the war produced, some of the preachers acted as officers; and, on the other hand, officers, with at least as much

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much propriety, acted as preachers. Cromwell himself edified the army by his discourses, and every common soldier who carried a voluble tongue, and either was or pretended to be a fanatic, held forth from a pulpit or a tub. The land was overrun with

‘ a various rout  
Of petulant capricious sects,  
The maggots of corrupted texts,’

but they bred in the army; and this license in things spiritual led by a sure process to the wildest notions of political liberty, to which also the constitution of the army was favourable: a mercenary army, Hollis calls it, ‘ all of them, from the general (except what he may have in expectation after his father’s death) to the meanest sentinel, not able to make a thousand pounds a year lands, most of the colonels and officers mean tradesmen, brewers, taylor, goldsmiths, shoemakers and the like,—a notable dunghill if one would rake into it to find out their several pedigrees.’ According to him these ‘ bloodsuckers had conceived a mortal hatred’ against his party, ‘ and, in truth, against all gentlemen, as those who had too great an interest and too large a stake of their own in the kingdom, to engage with them in their design of perpetuating the war to an absolute confusion.’ It was by such instruments that Cromwell had made himself, ostensibly the second person in the army, really the first: but he was not yet their master, and was compelled to court them still by professing a fellowship in opinions which he had ceased to hold. Had he espoused the King’s cause heartily and honestly, which probably he desired to do, the very men upon whom his power rested would have turned against him, and have pursued him with as murderous a hatred as that which Pym had avowed against Strafford, and had gratified in his blood. Both in and out of the army he needed the co-operation of men some of whom were his equals in cunning, others in audacity: Vane and perhaps St. John were as crafty, Ludlow, Hazlerigg and many others were as bold. But these men were bent upon trying the experiment of a republic, to which the King’s destruction was a necessary prelude. And he who afterwards controlled three nations, is said himself to have stood in some awe of his son-in-law Ireton, a man of great talents and inflexible character, and sincere in those political opinions which Cromwell held only while they were instrumental to his advancement.

Ludlow, who knew Ireton well, and was the more likely to understand the motives of his conduct because he entirely coincided with him in his political desires, believed that it was never his intention to come to any agreement with the King, but only to delude the Loyalists while the army were contesting with the Presbyterian  
interest

interest in Parliament: and he relates that Ireton once said to the King, 'Sir, you have an intention to be arbitrator between the parliament and us, and we mean to be so between you and the parliament.' Cromwell, on the other hand, is said to have declared that the interview between Charles and his children, when they were first allowed to visit him, was 'the tenderest sight that ever his eyes beheld;' to have wept plentifully when he spoke of it, (which he might well have done without hypocrisy, for in private life he was a man of kind feelings and of a generous nature;) to have confessed that 'never man was so abused as he in his sinister opinion of the King, who, he thought, was the most upright and conscientious of his kingdom; and to have imprecated 'that God would be pleased to look upon him according to the sincerity of his heart towards the King.' There are men so habitually insincere that they seem to delight in acts of gratuitous duplicity, as if their vanity was gratified by the easy triumph over those who are too upright to suspect deceit. Cromwell was a hypocrite then only when hypocrisy was useful; there are anecdotes enough which prove that he was well pleased when he could lay aside the mask. In his conduct toward Charles, while that poor persecuted King was with the army, there is no reason to suspect him of any sinister intention;—the most probable solution is that also which is most creditable to him, and which is imputed to him by those persons who aspersed him most. Hollis and Ludlow, who hated him with as much inveteracy as if they had not equally hated each other, agree in believing that he would willingly have taken part with the King; and that he was deterred from this better course by the fear that the army would desert him. They agree also that when he was certain of this, he, by taking measures for alarming the King, instigated him to make his escape from Hampton Court. Concerning his further\* purpose there are different opinions. Hollis, who would allow him no merit, supposes that he directed him to Carisbrook because he knew that Hammond might be depended upon as a jailer: Ludlow supposes that he thought Hammond a man on whom the King might rely; and Hobbes, with more probability than either, affirms that he meant to let him escape from

\* One of the very few errors which M. Villemain has committed is that of saying that Ashburnham is charged by Clarendon with having betrayed his master on this occasion; whereas Clarendon, though he perceived with what fatal and unaccountable mismanagement they proceeded, entirely acquits him of any intention to mislead the king. M. Villemain writes New York for Newark—from a mistaken etymology we suppose. These trifling mistakes are pointed out for correction, not from the desire of detecting faults, but in respect for a work of great sagacity, perfect candour and exemplary diligence,—being by far the most able history of Cromwell that has yet been written.

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the kingdom, which, with common prudence on the part of his companions, he might have done, and which, when Cromwell had made his choice to act with the Commonwealth's-men, would have served their purpose better than his death.

He did not, however, join them hastily, nor from his own feelings, but as if yielding, rather than consenting, to circumstances. Conferences were held between some of the heads of the many-headed anarchy—members, officers, and preachers—to determine what form of government was best for the nation, whether monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical. The ablest leaders of the Presbyterian party had been expelled the House, and some of them driven into exile by the preponderating influence of the army, who availed themselves of the King's presence to obtain that object. These persons, more from their hatred of the Independents than from any other principle, would have defended the monarchy, which was now but weakly and insincerely defended by Cromwell and those who were called the *Grandeess* of the House and army. Either form of government, they said, might be good in itself, and for them, as Providence should direct; this being interpreted meant that they were ready to support any form which might be most advantageous to themselves. On the other hand, the political and religious zealots insisted that monarchy was in itself an evil, and that the Jews had committed a great sin against the Lord in choosing it; and they, apparently now for the first time, avowed their desire of putting the King to death and establishing an equal commonwealth. Cromwell, who was then acknowledged as the head of the *Grandeess*, professed himself to be unresolved; he had learnt however the temper of his tools, and with that coarse levity which is one of the strongest features in his character, he concluded the conference by flinging a cushion at Ludlow's head, and then running down stairs; but not fast enough to escape a similar missile which was sent after him. The next day he told Ludlow he was convinced of the desirableness of what that party had proposed, but not of its feasibility. The time was now fast approaching when Cromwell would find every thing feasible which he desired. A bold accusation was preferred against him in the House of Lords by Major Huntington: he affirmed that Cromwell and Ireton had, from the beginning, instigated the army to disobey and resist the parliament; that they had pledged themselves to make the King the most glorious prince in Christendom, while they were making use of him, and had declared that they were ready to join with French, Spaniards, Cavaliers, or any who would force the parliament to agree with him; that their real object was to perpetuate the power of the army; that Ireton said when the King and parliament were treating he hoped they would make such a peace that the

army might, with a good conscience, fight against them both; and that Cromwell had, both in public and private, maintained as his principle that every individual was judge of just and right as to the good and ill of a kingdom; that it was lawful to pass through any forms of government for attaining his end, and that it was lawful to play the knave with a knave. Huntington swore to the truth of these allegations; Milton impugns his credit, by saying that he afterwards besought Cromwell's pardon, and confessed that he had been suborned by the Presbyterians. Encouraged by them he probably was; but Huntington's memorial bears with it the stamp of truth, and it is confirmed by Cromwell's whole course of after life.

The Independent party being the strongest, no advantage was made of these charges, which might otherwise have been deemed ground sufficient for depriving him of his command; and the ill-planned and ill-combined insurrection of the Cavaliers and invasion of the Scotch made him, as M. Villemain observes, too necessary to be deemed culpable. He marched first into Wales, and brought that crabbed expedition, as it was called, to a successful termination with his wonted celerity. That done, he proceeded against the Scotch, which, to the great furtherance of Cromwell's designs, Fairfax was not willing to do, for Fairfax had a sort of pyebald Presbyterian conscience, and strained at a gnat now after having bolted so many camels. Cromwell had a great dislike of the Scotch as well as a great contempt for them; he perfectly understood what their armies were, having served with them in one campaign, and therefore readily consented to go against them with a very inferior force. That confidence might have been fatal to him, if there had been common prudence in the Duke of Hamilton and the other Scotch leaders; but the miserable creatures by whom the counsels of that army were directed chose to expose the English who were with them, instead of supporting them, when, by timely aid, the day might have been won. Cromwell declared he had never seen foot fight so desperately as the Northcountrymen under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, at the battle of Preston, where they were so basely left without support. They had their reward. Cromwell followed their army, defeated and routed it, more being killed out of contempt, says Clarendon, than that they deserved it by any opposition. He then marched to Edinburgh, where he was received as a Deliverer; and settling the affairs of that lawless country under the management of Argyle, left it with reason to believe that it would prove as peaceable as he could wish.

The part which Cromwell bore in the tragedy that ensued, and the manner in which the hypocrisy, the coarseness and the levity of his character were displayed, when, not having felt power or courage

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rage to prevent the wickedness, he took the lead in it himself, are known to all persons who have any knowledge of English history. The powers of Europe had most of them secretly fomented the rebellion, and made no attempt to avert the catastrophe which it brought about. France more especially had acted treacherously toward the King; commenting upon which, in the earlier part of his history, Lord Clarendon has some memorable observations upon the impolicy as well as the injustice of such conduct, 'as if,' he says, 'the religion of princes were nothing but policy, and that they considered nothing more than to make all other kingdoms but their own miserable; and because God hath reserved them to be tried only within his own jurisdiction, that he means to try them too by other laws and rules than he hath published to the world for his servants to walk by. Whereas they ought to consider that God hath placed them over his people as examples, and to give countenance to his laws by their own strict observation of them; and that as their subjects are to be defended and protected by their princes, so they themselves are to be assisted and supported by one another, the function of kings being an order by itself; and as a contempt and breach of every law is in the policy of state an offence against the person of the king, because there is a kind of violation offered to his person in the transgression of that rule, without which he cannot govern; so the rebellion of subjects against their prince ought to be looked upon by all other kings as an assault of their own sovereignty, and in some degree a design against monarchy itself, and consequently to be suppressed and extirpated, in what other kingdom soever it is, with the like concernment as if it were in their own bowels.' Lord Bacon has noticed it as a defect in the historical part of learning that there is not an impartial and well attested *Historia Nemesis*. In such a history the miseries which France has undergone, and which Spain is undergoing and is to undergo, would exemplify the justice of Clarendon's remarks.

While other governments beheld the fate of Charles with an indifference as disreputable to their feelings as to their policy; and while the King of Spain adorned his palace by purchasing the choicest specimens of art with which Charles had enriched England, an honourable exception is to be made for Portugal and the House of Braganza. That House, in a time of extreme difficulty and danger, when it could ill afford to provoke another enemy, chose rather to incur the resentment and vengeance of the English Commonwealth, than to refuse protection to Prince Rupert and the ships under his command; and when the Parliamentary fleet entered the Tagus, and denounced war unless they were instantly delivered up, it was with difficulty that Prince Theodosius (whose untimely death may, perhaps, be considered as the greatest mis-



fortune that ever befell the Portuguese) was dissuaded from going on board the Portuguese fleet himself, to join Prince Rupert, and give battle to his enemies. On that occasion the Brazaun family considered what was right and honourable, regardless of all meaner considerations; they supplied Rupert fully, and would not suffer his pursuers to leave the port till two tides after he had sailed out with a full gale. They suffered severely for this, but they preserved their honour; and as it behoves us not to forget this, so does it at this time especially behove the Portuguese to remember in what manner the constant alliance and friendship of England, which for more than an hundred and sixty years has never been interrupted, was then deserved.

The levity which Cromwell displayed during that mockery of justice with which the King was sacrificed, Mr. Noble supposes to have been affected; and Mr. O. Cromwell endeavours to invalidate the evidence upon which it has been recorded and hitherto received. Its truth or falsehood would matter little in the fair estimate of his whole conduct, or of that particular act; and the thing itself is too consistent with other authentic anecdotes concerning him to be arbitrarily set aside. It is more remarkable that he went to look at the murdered King, opened the coffin himself, put his finger to the neck where it had been severed, and even, inspecting the inside of the body, observed in how healthy a state it had been, and how well made for length of life. He had screwed his feelings as well as his conscience at this time to the sticking place, and seems as if he had been resolved to make it known that he would shrink from nothing which might be necessary for his views. This was shown in the case of Lord Capel, a man in all respects of exemplary virtue, and worthy of the highest honours that history can bestow, as one who performed his duty faithfully, and to the last, in the worst of times. Cromwell knew him personally, spoke of him as of a friend, and made his very virtues a reason for taking away his life! His affection to the public, he said, so much weighed down his private friendship, that he could not but tell the House the question was whether they would preserve their most bitter and most implacable enemy; he knew the Lord Capel very well, and knew that he would be the last man in England who would forsake the royal interest; that he had great courage, industry and generosity; that he had many friends who would always adhere to him; and that as long as he lived, what condition soever he was in, he would be a thorn in their sides; and therefore, for the good of the Commonwealth, he should vote for his death. This was delivered and heard as a proof of republican virtue.—God deliver us from all such virtues as harden the heart!

Hobbes has affirmed that at the time of Lord Capel's execution

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it was put to the question by the army, whether all who had borne arms for the King should be massacred or no, and the Noes carried it by only two voices. If this be true, Cromwell, we may be sure, was one of those who declared against it; when he shed blood it was upon a calculating policy, never for the appetite of blood: such acts were committed by him against a good nature, not in the indulgence of a depraved one. Nor were the royalists the party of whom he was at that time most apprehensive; they were broken and dispersed, their cause was abandoned by man, and the pulpit incendiaries preached and, perhaps, persuaded both themselves and others that God had declared against it. The present danger was from the Levellers, whom Cromwell had at first encouraged, and with whom it is very possible that in one stage of his progress he may sincerely have sympathized. But being now better acquainted with men and with things, his wish was to build up and repair the work of ruin; all further demolition was to be prevented, and therefore by prompt severity he suppressed these men, who were so numerous and well organized as to have rendered themselves formidable by their strength as well as by their opinions. That object having been effected, he accepted the command in Ireland, to the surprize of his enemies who desired nothing so much as his absence; not having considered that with his means and temper he went to a sure conquest, and must needs return from it with a great accession of popularity and power.

He arrived at Dublin in a fortunate hour, just after the garrison had obtained a signal victory, in consequence of which the siege had been broken up. Without delay he marched against Drogheda, where the Marquis of Ormond had placed a great number of his best troops, under Sir Arthur Ashton, a brave and distinguished officer. One assault was manfully repulsed. Cromwell led his men a second time to the breach, who then forced all the retrenchments, and gave no quarter, according to his positive orders. There was a great contention among the soldiers who should get the governor for his share of the spoil, because his artificial leg was believed to be made of gold; the disappointment at finding it only of wood was somewhat abated by discovering two hundred pieces of gold sewn up in his girdle. Cromwell's own account of the slaughter is, that not thirty of the whole number of the defendants escaped with their lives. 'I do not believe,' he says, 'neither do I hear, that any officer escaped with his life, save only one lieutenant, who, going to the enemy, said he was the only man that escaped of all the garrison. The enemy were filled upon this with much terror, and truly I believe this bitterness will save much effusion of blood, through the goodness of God. I wish that all honest hearts may give the glory of this to God alone, to whom, indeed, the praise of

this mercy belongs, for instruments they were very inconsiderable the work throughout.' Lord Clarendon says that all manner of cruelty was executed; every Irish inhabitant, man, woman and child, put to the sword, and three or four officers of name and of good families, whom some humaner soldiers concealed for four or five days, were then butchered in cold blood. Ludlow relates that the slaughter continued two days, and that such extraordinary severity was used to discourage others. Hugh Peters gave thanks for it in the cathedral at Dublin. The object was obtained. Trim and Dundalk were abandoned to him without resistance; Wexford was ill defended and easily taken; and Cromwell, with a reliance upon fortune arising in this instance equally from confidence in himself and contempt of his enemies, marched into Munster so far from all succour and all reasonable hope of supplies, that if the city of Cork had not been treacherously or pusillanimously given up to him, he and his army must have been reduced to the utmost danger.

In less than six months, though an infectious disease had broken out in his own army, Cromwell destroyed the last hopes of the Royalists in Ireland, and exacted for a national crime, to which the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day is the only parallel in history, a vengeance to which no parallel can be found. No mercy was shown to any person who could be convicted of having shed Protestant blood in that most merciless and atrocious rebellion. As many others as chose were allowed to enter into foreign services, and French and Spanish officers enlisted and transported not less than five and forty thousand men, though not five thousand could ever be raised for the King's service by all the unwearied exertions of Ormond, and all the promises and contracts which were made with him. Leaving Ireton with the command, to pursue the war upon that system of extermination which the Commonwealth intended, he obeyed the summons of parliament to put himself at the head of an army which was to march against Charles II., called at that time Charles Stuart, who was then in Scotland in a situation something between that of a king and a prisoner. By Cromwell's desire the command was offered to Fairfax, who refused it, more because he was offended and ashamed at having discovered how mere a cipher he was become, than from any feeling of repentance for what he had done, and for what he had omitted to do, which was the heavier sin. In urging him to accept the command Cromwell appeared so much in earnest that Ludlow believed him, and took him aside to entreat that he would not in compliment and humility obstruct the service of the nation by his refusal. When it was determined that Cromwell was to be general, Ludlow had a conference with him, in which Cromwell professed to desire nothing more than that the government might be settled

settled in a free and equal Commonwealth, which he thought the only probable means of keeping out the old family. He looked upon it, he said, that the design of the Lord was now to free his people from every burthen, and to accomplish what was prophesied in the 110th psalm; and then expounding that psalm for about an hour to Ludlow, and tickling him with expositions, professions and praises, ended by letting him understand that if he pleased to accept the command of the horse in Ireland, the post would be at his service.

A declaration was sent before Cromwell's army, addressed 'to all that are Saints, and Partakers of the Faith of God's Elect in Scotland.' The saints, however, in Scotland were praying and preaching against Cromwell as heartily as they had ever performed pulpit service against Charles; and their Presbyterian brethren in England, as well as the sober and untainted part of the people, were heartily wishing for his overthrow, and the return of the ancient order. His contempt for the Scotch had very nearly brought about the fulfilment of their desires: he got himself into a situation at Dunbar from which it was impossible to retreat, and where, from the want of provisions, the enemy must have had him at their mercy if they would only have avoided an action. But it was revealed to the preachers by whom the general was controuled, that Agag was delivered into their hands; and Cromwell, perceiving them through his glass advancing to attack, exclaimed, (in Hume's felicitous language,) without the help of revelations, that the Lord had delivered them into *his*. Some of the preachers were knocked on the head while promising the victory, and others who were not killed 'had very notable marks about the head and the face, that any body might know they were not hurt by chance, or in the crowd, but by very good will.' A terrible execution was made; Cromwell's men gave no quarter till they were weary of killing. In his letter to the parliament, he acknowledged the peril in which he had been, and that the enemy had reminded him of the fate of Essex's army in Cornwall; 'but,' says he, 'in what they were thus lifted up, the Lord was above them. The enemy having those advantages we lay very near him, being sensible of our disadvantages, having some weakness of flesh, but yet consolation and support from the Lord himself to our poor weak faith, (wherein I believe not a few amongst us stand); that because of their numbers, because of their advantages, because of their confidence, because of our weakness, because of our strait, we were on the mount, and on the mount the Lord would be seen.' And he adds that the Lord of Hosts made them as stubble to their swords.

The battle of Dunbar delivered Charles from the tyranny of the Presbyterians, who, he verily believed, would have imprisoned him

the next day if they had won the victory. Cromwell entered Edinburgh: the castle was surrendered to him, and he was soon master of the better part of the kingdom; but he had a severe illness, with three relapses, and was in great danger. His reply after his recovery to a letter of inquiry from the Lord President of the Council of State in England, acknowledged, with all humble thankfulness, their high favour in sending to inquire after one so unworthy as himself. 'Indeed, my lord,' he continues, 'your service needs not me; I am a poor creature, and have been a dry bone, and am still an unprofitable servant to my Master and you. I thought I should have died of this fit of sickness, but the Lord seemeth to dispose otherwise. But truly, my lord, I desire not to live unless I may obtain mercy from the Lord to approve my heart and life to him in more faithfulness and thankfulness, and those I serve with more profitableness and diligence.' When he was well enough to take the field, and advance against the King at Sterling, a skilful movement, by which he got behind the royal army, thereby cutting it off from the fruitful country from whence it drew its supplies, induced Charles to form the brave resolution of marching into England.

Cromwell had not expected this; and when he announced it to the Parliament, it was with something like an apology for himself, though he said the enemy had taken this course in desperation and fear, and out of inevitable necessity. 'I do apprehend,' he says, 'that it will trouble some men's thoughts, and may occasion some inconveniences, of which I hope we are as deeply sensible, and have, and I trust shall be as diligent to prevent as any. And indeed this is our comfort, that in simplicity of heart as to God, we have done to the best of our judgements, knowing that if some issue were not put to this business, it would occasion another winter's war, to the ruin of your soldiery, for whom the Scots are too hard, in respect of enduring the winter difficulties of this country. We have this comfortable experiment from the Lord, that this enemy is heart-smitten by God, and whenever the Lord shall bring us up to them, we believe the Lord will make the desperation of this counsel of theirs to appear, and the folly of it also.' The alarm in London was very great. 'Both the city and country,' says Mrs. Hutchinson, 'were all amazed, doubtful of their own and the Commonwealth's safety. Some could not hide very pale and unmanly fears, and were in such distraction of spirit, as much disturbed their counsels.' Even Bradshaw, 'stout-hearted as he was,' trembled for his neck. But great exertions were made by the government, its members having indeed every thing at stake, and Whitelocke says, that no affair could have been managed with more diligence, courage and prudence; and that peradventure, there was never so great a body of men so well armed and provided,

vided, got together in so short a time, as were those sent to reinforce Cromwell.' Cromwell meantime followed the royal army with his wonted confidence. Whatever his military skill may have been, he possessed in perfection two of the first requisites for a general, activity and decision; while in the King's councils he knew that there would be conflicting opinions, vacillations, delay and imbecility. When therefore he came to Worcester, advantageous as that position was to the enemy if they had known how to profit by it, he marched directly on as to a prey; and not troubling himself with the formality of a siege, ordered his troops to fall on in all places at once. According to his own account, the loss on his side did not exceed two hundred men; yet it was, he said, 'a stiff business,'—'as stiff a contest for four or five hours as ever he had seen.' The royal army was completely routed and dispersed; and the victory was the more gratifying to Cromwell, on account of its being achieved on the anniversary of the battle of Dunbar. In his letter to the Parliament, he says, 'the dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts, it is, for aught I know, a crowning mercy. I am bold, humbly to beg that all thoughts may tend to the promoting of his honour, who hath wrought so great salvation; and that the fatness of these continued mercies may not occasion pride and wantonness, as formerly the like hath done to a chosen nation.'

The defeat of Charles at Worcester is one of those events which most strikingly exemplify how much better events are disposed of by Providence, than they would be if the direction were left to the choice even of the best and the wisest men. Had the victory been on the King's side, other battles must have been fought; his final success could not have been attained without a severe struggle; a second contest would have arisen among his own friends, between the members of the Church and the Presbyterians, which might probably have kindled another civil war; and the Puritans and their descendants to this day, would have insisted that if the Commonwealth had not been overthrown, the continuance of that free and liberal government would richly have repaid the country for all its sufferings. But by the battle of Worcester, the Commonwealth's-men were left absolute masters of the three kingdoms; they had full leisure to complete and perfect their own structure of government: the experiment was fairly tried; there was nothing from without to disturb the process; it went duly on from change to change, from one evil to another; anarchy in its certain consequences leading to military despotism; that again, when the sword was no longer wielded by a strong hand, giving place to anarchy; till the people, at length weary of their sufferings and their insecurity,

security, while knaves and fanatics were contending for the mastery over them, restored the monarchy with one consent.

When Cromwell called the battle of Worcester a *crowning* mercy, he may have used that word in a double sense between pun and prophecy; for certain it is that from this time he did not conceal the kingly thoughts and views which he entertained. He would have knighted Lambert and Fleetwood upon the field, if his friends had not dissuaded him; and soon afterwards, when Ireton's death delivered him from the only person whom he regarded with deference, he assembled certain members of parliament, with some of the chief officers, at the Speaker's house, told them it was necessary to come to a settlement of the nation, and delivered his own opinion in favour of a settlement with somewhat of a monarchical power in it. The lawyers who were present were in general for a mixed monarchy; and many were for chusing the Duke of Gloucester king, who was still in their hands, and was, as they said, too young to have borne arms against them, or to be infected with the principles of their enemies. The officers were as generally against monarchy, though every one of them, says Whitelock, was a monarch in his regiment or company. For the present, Cromwell was satisfied with having felt his ground, and waited while the Long Parliament made themselves more and more odious by the desire which they manifested of perpetuating their own power, the war which they provoked with the Dutch, and the severities which they exercised by their abominable high court of justice, where tools of the ruling party, who had no character to lose, acted at once as judge and jury. The prisoners taken at Worcester were driven like cattle to London; many of them perished there in confinement for want of food, and the rest were sold to the plantations for slaves by the despotic government which had risen upon the ruins of the throne! This act of abominable tyranny is mentioned by Baxter without any comment, and apparently without the slightest feeling. But when he relates that Mr. Love, one of the London ministers, was condemned and beheaded by the same authority—then, indeed, Heaven and Earth are moved at such an enormity! 'At the time of his execution, or very near it on that day, there was the dreadfulest thunder, and lightning, and tempest that was heard or seen for a long time before. This blow sunk deeper towards the root of the new Commonwealth than will easily be believed, and made them grow odious to almost all the religious party in the land except the sectaries. And there is, as Sir Walter Raleigh noteth of learned men, such as Demosthenes, Cicero, &c. so much more in divines of famous learning and piety, enough to put an everlasting odium upon those whom they suffer by, though  
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the cause of the sufferers were not justifiable. Men count him a vile and detestable creature, who in his passion, or for his interest, or any such low account, shall deprive the world of such lights and ornaments, and cut off so much excellency at a blow.—After this the most of the ministers and good people of the land did look upon the new Commonwealth as tyranny.’

The Long Parliament, having made itself as much hated by the presbyterians as it was by the royalists, was odious at the same time to the army and the fanatics of both kinds, political and religious. Cromwell stated their misconduct to Whitelock strongly, and with none of that muddiness with which he frequently chose to conceal or obscure his meaning. On this occasion he spoke plainly: ‘Their pride,’ he said, ‘and ambition and self-seeking, ingrossing all places of honour and profit to themselves and their friends; and their daily breaking forth into new and violent parties and factions: their delays of business and design to perpetuate themselves and to continue their power in their own heads; their meddling in private matters between party and party, contrary to the institution of parliaments, and their injustice and partiality in those matters, and the scandalous lives of some of the chief of them,—these things do give too much ground for people to open their mouths against them and to dislike them. Nor can they be kept within the bounds of justice and law or reason, they themselves being the supreme power of the nation, liable to no account to any, nor to be controuled or regulated by any other power; there being none superior or co-ordinate with them.’ Whitelock confessed the evil, but said it would be hard to find a remedy. What, said Cromwell, if a man should take upon him to be king? To this Whitelock replied that this remedy would be worse than the disease; that being general he had less envy and less danger than if he were called king, but not less power and real opportunities of doing good. And he represented to him that he was environed with secret enemies: that his own officers were elated with success; ‘many of them,’ said he, ‘are busy and of turbulent spirits, and are not without their designs how they may dismount your excellency, and some of themselves get up into the saddle,—how they may bring you down and set up themselves.’ Cromwell would willingly have engaged Whitelock in his views; but Whitelock was a cautious, temporizing man, who generally chose the safest part, and never incurred danger, by resisting what he could not prevent, or putting himself in the van, when he could remain with the main body. In speaking honestly to Cromwell, he risked nothing; the feeling which his dissent excited, was rather disappointment than displeasure, and he would be esteemed more for his sincerity.

His concurrence was of little moment. Cromwell could count upon

upon his faithful services when the thing was done, and he had plenty of other agents who were ready to go through with any thing. That memorable scene soon followed, when Cromwell turned out the Parliament, and locked the doors of the House of Commons. Whitelock says, that 'all honest and prudent indifferent men were highly distasted at this; that the royalists rejoiced; that divers fierce men, pastors of churches and their congregations were pleased,' as were the army in general, officers as well as soldiers; and he illustrates the principles upon which some of the officers were pleased with the change, by what one of them said to a member of the ejected Parliament, whose son was a captain, 'that this business was nothing but to pull down the father and set up the son, and no more but for the father to wear worsted, and the son silk stockings,—so sottish, says Whitelock, were they in the apprehensions of their own risings!—but he has not thought proper to observe, how much more sottish and less excusable were those persons who had set them the example of pulling down authority. Some of the severest republicans in the army served Cromwell in this his first act of explicit despotism. Ludlow, who was in Ireland, had some distrust; yet, he says, that he and they who were with them thought themselves obliged, by the rules of charity, to hope the best, and, therefore, continued to act in their places and stations as before. They had never exercised that rule of charity toward Charles I.

The Lord General, such was his title now, called a meeting of officers to deliberate concerning what should-next be done. Lambert was for entrusting the supreme power to a few persons, not more than ten or twelve. Harrison would have preferred seventy, being the number of which the Jewish Sanhedrim consisted. The deliberation ended in summoning to a parliament an hundred and twenty-eight persons chosen by the Council of Officers, from the three kingdoms. The members thus curiously chosen, and notorious by the name of Praise-God Barebone's Parliament, met accordingly, and were harangued by Cromwell, who acknowledged the goodness of the Lord, in that he then saw the day wherein the Saints began their rule in the earth! They began their business in a saintly manner, by 'a day of humiliation, in which God did so draw forth the hearts of the members both in speaking and prayer, that they did not find any necessity to call for the help of any minister.' They were, indeed, for dispensing with ministers as well as kings, looking upon the function as Anti-Christian, and upon tythes as absolute Judaism; and the better to ensure the abolition of that odious order, they proposed to sell all the college lands, and apply the money in aid of taxes. It had been intended that they should sit fifteen months, and that three months before their dissolution,

dissolution, they should make choice of others to succeed them for a year, the three kingdoms being then to be governed by Annual Parliaments, each electing its successor. Five months, however, convinced Cromwell that the only use to be made of them was, to make them surrender their power into his hand, acknowledge their own insufficiency, (which they might do with perfect truth,) and beseech him to take care of the commonwealth. The Council of Officers were now again in possession of the supreme power; and they declared that the government of the Commonwealth should reside in the single person of Oliver Cromwell, with the title of Lord Protector, and a council of one-and-twenty to assist him.

Constitutions were made in that age as easily as in this, and the articles were not more durable than they are now, though wiser heads were employed in making them. The name, however, which Oliver chose for his piece of parchment was the Instrument of Government. It was there ordained, that the Protector should call a parliament once in every three years, and not dissolve it till it had sat five months; that the bills which were presented to him, if he did not confirm them within twenty days, should become laws without his confirmation; that his select council should not be more in number than twenty-one, nor less than thirteen; that with their consent, he might make laws which should be binding during the intervals of parliament; that he should have power to make peace and war; that immediately after his death, the council should choose another Protector, and that no Protector after him should be General of the army. The first use which he made of his power, was to make peace with the Dutch and with Portugal, in both cases upon terms honourable and advantageous to England; nor could any measures have been more popular than these, which delivered the nation in the first instance from an expensive and bloody contest, and in the other, restored to it its most productive foreign trade. France and Spain were emulously courting the friendship of the fortunate usurper: Ireland and Scotland thoroughly subdued, their governments united with that of England, by the right of conquest, and both countries undergoing that process of civilization, which Cromwell, like the Romans, carried on by the sword. When Charles I. was treating with the Scotch, before he put himself into their hands, he said in a letter to the French agent, whom they authorized to promise him protection, 'let them never flatter themselves so with their good successes; without pretending to prophecy, I will foretell their ruin, except they agree with me, however it shall please God to dispose of me.' They had reason to remember this when they were under Cromwell's government. His orders to Monk, whom  
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he left to complete the subjugation of the country, were, that if he found a stubborn resistance at any place, he should give no quarter, and allow free plunder; orders which Monk observed with the utmost rigour, and 'made himself as terrible as man could be.' 'He subdued them,' says Clarendon, 'to all imaginable tameness, though he had exercised no other power over them than was necessary to reduce that people to an entire submission to that tyrannical yoke. In all his other carriage towards them, but what was in order to that end, he was friendly and companionable enough; and as he was feared by the nobility and hated by the clergy, so he was not unloved by the common people, who received more justice and less oppression from him, that they had been accustomed to under their own lords.' A more thorough conquest was never effected: every thing was changed, the whole frame of government new-modelled, the Kirk subjected to the sole order and direction of—the Commander in Chief; the nobles stript of their power; the very priests tamed and muzzled,—and all this was submitted to obediently!—in reality, it had brought with it so much real benefit to a barbarous people, that at the Restoration, Lord Clarendon admits 'it might well be a question, whether the generality of the nation was not better contented with it, than to return into the old road of subjection.'

A more rigorous system had been pursued in Ireland, a system severer than even the mode of Roman civilization. The utter extirpation of the Irish had been intended! but this was found 'to be in itself very difficult, and to carry in it somewhat of horror, that made some impression upon the stone-hardness of their own hearts.' The Act of Grace (so it was called!) for which this purpose was commuted, was the most desperate remedy that ever was applied to a desperate disease. All the Irish who had survived the ravages of fire, sword, famine, and pestilence, and who had not transported themselves, were compelled, by a certain day, to retire within a certain part of the province of Connaught, the most barren of the island, and at that time almost desolate; after that time, if man, woman, or child, of that unhappy generation, were found beyond the limits, they were to be killed like wild beasts; the land within that circuit was to be divided among them, and the rest of the island was portioned out among the conquerors, who used the right of conquest with greater severity than Romans, Saxons, or Normans had exercised in Britain. It is worthy of remark, that not a voice was heard against this tremendous act of oppression, such horror had the Irish massacre excited, and so irreclaimable, in the judgement of all men, was the nature of the inhabitants: even when new settlers established themselves there, 'through what virtues of the soil,' says Harrington, 'or vice

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vice of the air soever it be, they came still to degenerate : ' and of the descendants of English colonists there, it was said in Elizabeth's time, that they were *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*. So little were their rights, or even their existence taken into the account, that Harrington thought the best thing the Commonwealth could do with Ireland, was to farm it to the Jews for ever, for the pay of an army to protect them during the first seven years, and two millions a year from that time forward !—What was to be done with the Irish, whether they were to be made hewers of wood and drawers of water, or to become Jews by compulsion, he has not explained. For the sufferings of the Irish, however, Cromwell is not responsible ; and under the order which he established, if it had continued for another generation, the island would have been in a better state, than any which its authentic history has yet recorded : for there, as in Scotland, a more equitable administration was introduced than that which had been destroyed.

While the Protector was feared and respected by foreign powers, and obeyed submissively, if not willingly, in Ireland and the sister kingdom, his state at home was full of uneasiness and danger. Though orders were given when he summoned his first parliament, that no persons should be chosen who had borne arms on the King's part, nor the sons of any such, and though care was taken to return such members as were believed to be the best affected to his government, yet in the first debate, his authority was questioned ; and one member declared that, ' for his own part, as God had made him instrumental in cutting down tyranny in one person, so now he could not endure to see the nation's liberties shackled by another, whose right to the government could not be measured otherwise than by the length of his sword, which alone had emboldened him to command his commanders.' He attempted to curb this spirit, by excluding all who would not subscribe an engagement to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector ; yet, they who took the engagement were found so impracticable for his purposes, that taking advantage of the letter of his Instrument, he dissolved them at the end of five lunar months.

Cromwell was now paying the bitter price of successful ambition. His good sense and his good nature would have led him to govern equitably and mercifully, to promote literature, to cherish the arts, and to pour wine and oil into the wounds of the nation. But as in the language of the schools, *uno absurdo dato, sequuntur millia*, so in politics and in morals, are error and guilt fearfully prolific : the disease of the root taints the remotest branches. Having attained to power by sinister means, Cromwell, in spite of himself, was compelled to govern tyrannically ; he was equally in danger from the royalists, the greater though inactive part of the nation among whom  
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indignant spirits were continually at work, and from the levellers, by whose instrumentality he had raised himself to his insecure and miserable elevation. He could not rely even upon the officers of that army, by which alone he was supported; and he had so little confidence in the soldiers, that he once intended to bring over a Swiss regiment as a guard for his own person, and had sent an agent to take measures for raising it; but, having perceived how unpopular such a manifestation of his fears would be, and how dangerous, he was deterred from his purpose. His best security was in the irreconcilable difference between the royalists and the fanatics, the latter willingly aiding him to oppress the former, of whom he stood most in fear. It was confidently affirmed, that the proposal for massacring the whole royal party was more than once brought forward in his Council of Officers, as the only expedient to secure the Government; but Cromwell, who was neither devil enough to commit the crime, nor fool enough to destroy the balance by which he was preserved, never would consent. The royalists, in other respects, had little reason to praise his moderation. After all the plunder and exactions which they had suffered, and the *compositions* which they had paid for their own estates, Cromwell now, by his own authority and that of his council, issued an order for decimating their estates, that is, that they should pay a tenth, not of the income, but of the value of the property; and a declaration accompanied this order, that, because of their inherent malignity, they must not wonder if they were looked upon as a common enemy; and that they 'must not expect to be prosecuted like other men, by the ordinary forms of justice, and to have the crimes proved by witnesses, before they should be concluded to be guilty.' If the loyal part of the people had at first lent the king the fifth part of what, after infinite losses, they were compelled to sacrifice to his enemies at last, Lord Clarendon says, that Charles would have been enabled to preserve them and himself. 'The Lord deliver us,' says Laud, 'from covetous and fearful men! The covetous will betray us for money, the fearful for security.' He did not live to see how the persons, who acted under the influence of these base passions, brought upon themselves worse evils than could have befallen them in the manly discharge of their duties.

The better to exact this forced payment, and with a view, also, towards embodying a sort of national army, which might be employed in case of need to balance, or repress the troops, whose fidelity he distrusted, he divided England into twelve cantons, each of which was placed under the absolute power of a Major General. These Bashaws, as Ludlow calls them, were to levy all imposts, sequester those who did not pay the decimation, and commit to prison any persons whom they suspected; and there was no appeal

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from any of their acts, but to the Protector. In each canton he raised a body of horse and foot, who were only to be called out in cases of necessity, and then to serve a certain number of days at their own charge; if they served longer, they were to receive the same pay as the army, but they were to be under the Major General of their respective canton. A certain salary was allowed them, that of a horseman being eight pounds a year. But the advantage which he might have derived from this kind of yeomanry force (that of all other which may most reasonably be depended upon for the preservation of order), brought with it a new danger from the power of the Majors General; and Cromwell removed these Bashaws in time, without difficulty, because they had made themselves odious to the nation.

He called his next parliament with more confidence, because the war in which he had engaged against Spain had made him master of Jamaica, and two treasure-ships, with a frightful destruction of the Spaniards, had been taken. The treasure was brought in waggons from Portsmouth to London, and paraded through the city to the Tower. Most of the members took the test which he required; they passed an Act binding all men to renounce Charles Stuart and his family; they declared it high treason to attempt the life of the Protector, and granted him larger supplies than had ever before been raised, one of the imposts being a full year's rent upon all houses which had been erected in and about London, from before the beginning of the troubles. Finally, they offered him the title of king, which was the great object of his ambition. The republicans, from whom he expected most danger, had been carefully excluded by management in the elections, or by the test. Vane and Harrison were in confinement, for Cromwell feared the craft of the former, and the enthusiasm of the latter, which placed him above all means of corruption or intimidation. Yet there was more opposition than he had anticipated; and one member applied to him in the House, the words of the prophet to Ahab, 'Hast thou killed and also taken possession?' Lambert, who had hitherto forwarded all the views of Oliver, because he expected to be the next protector himself, being the second man in the army, declared against a proposal which would have been fatal to his ambition: and there were members bold enough to say, that if they must submit to the old government, they would much rather choose to obey the true and lawful heir of a long line of kings, than one who was but at best their equal, and had raised himself by the trust which they had reposed in him. Upon such opposition Cromwell would have trampled, if he had found support in his own family and nearest connections. But his sons were without ambition. Richard, the eldest, indeed was believed to be at



heart a royalist; Desborough, who had married his sister, and Fleetwood who was his son-in-law (having married Ireton's widow) with a stupid obstinacy objected to his assuming the name of king, though they had no objection to his exercising a more absolute authority than any king of England had ever possessed. Colonel Pride, who had purged the parliament to make him what he was, procured a petition from the majority of the officers then about London, against his taking the title; and information, to which he gave full credit, was conveyed to him, that a number of men had bound themselves by oath, to kill him, within so many hours after he should accept it. Under these disheartening circumstances, after a long and painful struggle with himself, and some curious discussions with the deputation of members, who were sent to urge his acceptance, he concluded by refusing it upon the plea of conscience.

In thus yielding to men of weaker minds than his own, Cromwell committed the same error which had been fatal to Charles. The boldest course would have been the safest; the wisest friends of the royal family were of opinion, that if he had made himself king *de facto*, and restored all things in other respects to the former order, no other measure would have been so injurious to the royal cause. Every thing except the name was given him; the power of appointing his successor in the protectorship was now conferred upon him by parliament, and the ceremony of investiture was performed for the second time, and with a pomp which no coronation had exceeded. The Speaker presented him with a robe of purple velvet, a mixed colour, to show the mixture of justice and mercy, which he was to observe in his administration; the bible, 'the book of books, in which the orator told him he had the happiness to be well versed, and which contained both precepts and examples for good government; a sceptre, not unlike a staff, for he was to be a staff to the weak and poor; and lastly, a sword, not to defend himself alone, but his people also: if, said the speaker, I might presume to fix a motto upon this sword, as the valiant Lord Talbot had upon his, it should be this: *Ego sum Domini Protectoris, ad protegendum populum meum*, I am the Lord Protector's, to protect my people.

So great was the reputation which Cromwell obtained abroad by his prodigious elevation, the lofty tone of his government, and the vigour of his arms, that an Asiatic Jew is said to have come to England for the purpose of investigating his pedigree, thinking to discover in him the Lion of the tribe of Judah! Some of his own most faithful adherents regarded him with little less veneration. Their warm attachment, and the more doubtful devotion of a set of enthusiastic preachers, drugged the atmosphere in which he breathed;

breathed; and yet while his bodily health continued, the natural strength of his understanding prevailed over this deleterious influence, and he saw things calmly, clearly, and sorrowfully as they were. Shakspeare himself has not imagined a more dramatic situation than that in which Cromwell stood. He had attained to the possession of sovereign power, by means little less guilty than Macbeth, but the process had neither hardened his heart, nor made him desperate in guilt. His mind had expanded with his fortune. As he advanced in his career, he gradually discovered how mistaken he had been in the principles upon which he had set out; and, after having effected the overthrow of the church, the nobles and the throne, he became convinced, by what experience (the surest of all teachers) had shown him, that episcopacy, nobility, and monarchy, were institutions good in themselves, and necessary for this nation in which they had so long been established. Fain would he have repaired the evil which he had done; fain would he have restored the monarchy, created a house of Peers, and re-established the Episcopal church. But he was thwarted and overruled by the very instruments which he had hitherto used; men whom he had formerly possessed with his own passionate errors, and whom he was not able to dispossess: persons incapable of deriving wisdom from experience, and so short-sighted as not to see that their own lives and fortunes depended upon the establishment of his power by the only means which could render it stable and secure. Standing in fear of them, he dared not take the crown himself; and he could not confer it upon the rightful heir:—by the murder of Charles, he had incapacitated himself from making that reparation which would otherwise have been in his power. His wife, who was not elated with prosperity, advised him to make terms with the exiled king, and restore him to the throne; his melancholy answer was, Charles Stuart can never forgive me his father's death, and if he could, he is unworthy of the crown. He answered to the same effect, when the same thing was twice proposed to him, with the condition, that Charles should marry one of his daughters. What would not Cromwell have given, whether he looked to this world or the next, if his hands had been clear of the king's blood!

Such was the state of Cromwell's mind, during the latter years of his life, when he was lord of these three kingdoms, and indisputably the most powerful potentate in Europe, and as certainly the greatest man of an age in which the race of great men was not extinct in any country. No man was so worthy of the station which he filled, had it not been for the means by which he reached it. He would have governed constitutionally, mildly, mercifully, liberally, if he could have followed the impulses of his own heart, and the wishes

of his better mind; self-preservation compelled him to a severe and suspicious system: he was reduced at last to govern without a Parliament, because, pack them and purge them as he might, all that he summoned proved unmanageable; and because he was an usurper, he became of necessity a despot. The very saints, in whose eyes he had been so precious, now called him an 'ugly tyrant,' and engaged against him in more desperate plots than were formed by the royalists. He lived in perpetual danger and in perpetual fear. When he went abroad he was surrounded by his guards. It was never known which way he was going till he was in the coach; he seldom returned by the same way he went; he wore armour under his clothes, and hardly ever slept two nights successively in one chamber. The latter days of Charles, while he looked on to the scaffold, and endured the insolence of Bradshaw and the inhuman aspersions of Cook, were enviable when compared to the close of Cromwell's life. Charles had that peace within which passeth all understanding; the one great sin which he had committed in sacrificing Strafford, had been to him a perpetual cause of sorrow and shame and repentance; he received his own death as a just punishment for that sin under the dispensations of a righteous and unerring Providence; and feeling that it had been expiated, when he bowed his head upon the block, it was in full reliance upon the justice of posterity, and with a sure and certain trust in the mercy of his God. Cromwell had doubts of both. Ludlow tells us, that at his death 'he seemed, above all, concerned for the reproaches, he said, men would cast upon his name, in trampling on his ashes when dead!' And the last sane feeling of religion which he expressed, implied a like misgiving, concerning his condition in the world on which he was about to enter—it was a question to one of his fanatical preachers, 'if the doctrine were true, that the elect could never finally fall?' Upon receiving a reply, that nothing could be more certain, 'Then am I safe,' he said, 'for I am sure that *once* I was in a state of grace.' The spiritual drams which were then administered to him in strong doses, acted powerfully upon a mind debilitated by long disease, and disposed by the nature of that disease to delirium. He assured his physicians, as the presumptuous fanatics by whom he was surrounded assured him, that he should not die, whatever they might think from the symptoms of his disorder, for God was far above nature, and God had promised his recovery. Thanks were publicly given for the undoubted pledges of his recovery, which God had vouchsafed! and some of his last words were those of a mediator rather than a sinner, praying for the people, as if his own merits entitled him to be an intercessor. Even his death did not dissipate the delusion. When that news was brought to those who were met together to pray for him, 'Mr.

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Sterry stood up and desired them not to be troubled: for,' said he, 'this is good news! because, if he was of great use to the people of God when he was amongst us, now he will be much more so, being ascended to Heaven to sit at the right hand of Jesus Christ, there to intercede for us, and to be mindful of us on all occasions!'

The life of this most fortunate and least flagitious of usurpers might hold out a salutary lesson for men possessed with a like ambition, if such men were capable of learning good as well as evil lessons from the experience of others. He gained three kingdoms; the price which he paid for them was innocence and peace of mind. He left an imperishable name, so stained with reproach, that notwithstanding the redeeming virtues which adorned him, it were better for him to be forgotten than to be so remembered. And in the world to come,—but it is not for us to anticipate the judgements, still less to limit the mercy of the All-merciful.

Let us repeat, that there is no portion of history in which it so much behoves an Englishman to be thoroughly versed as in that of Cromwell's age. There it may be seen to what desperate lengths men of good hearts and laudable intentions may be drawn by faction. There may be seen the rise, and the progress, and the consequences of rebellion. There are to be found the highest examples of true patriotism, sound principles, and heroic virtue, with some alloy of haughtiness in Strafford, of human infirmities in Laud, pure and unsullied in Falkland, and Capel, and Newcastle, and in Clarendon, the wisest and the best of English statesmen, the most authentic, the most candid, the most instructive of English historians. From the history of that age, and more especially from that excellent writer, the young and ingenuous may derive and confirm a just, and generous, and ennobling love for the institutions of their country, founded upon the best feelings and surest principles; and the good and the thoughtful of all ages will feel in the perusal, with what reason that petition is inserted in the Litany, wherein we pray the Lord to deliver us from all sedition, privy conspiracy and rebellion: from all false doctrine, heresy, and schism: from hardness of heart and contempt of his word and commandments,—sins which draw after them, in certain and inevitable consequence, the heaviest of all chastisements upon a guilty nation.

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ART. II.—*The Apocryphal New Testament, being all the Gospels, Epistles, and other Pieces now extant, attributed in the first four Centuries to Jesus Christ, his Apostles, and their Companions, and not included in the New Testament by its*  
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Compilers.

*Compilers. Translated from the original Tongues, and now first collected into one Volume. Printed for William Hone. London. 1820.*

**I**T will be in the recollection of most of our readers that, on the trial of Hone for the publication of some scandalous parodies on the Liturgy, one principal point in his defence was that his objects were wholly political, and that the moment he entertained a persuasion that his parodies could be considered as injurious to the cause of religion, (for which he professed the highest respect,) he withdrew them from circulation at a great pecuniary loss. As we should not be justified in expressing a suspicion that the jury had previously resolved to acquit this man, we must presume that he owed his escape to the credit which they attached to the sincerity of this declaration. He has now afforded ample means of judging how far such confidence was wisely reposed, by publishing a work of which the sole aim is to destroy the credit of the New Testament, and to show that the most silly and driveling forgeries can be supported by the same evidence which we use to establish the authority of our Scripture.

Nothing but the execution of a public duty would have tempted us to defile one line of our Journal with the notice of a wretch as contemptible as he is wicked. It is indeed a source of real gratification to us, that in proceeding to give our readers some account of the book before us, we may at once dismiss Mr. Hone from our consideration. He is described to us as a poor illiterate creature, far too ignorant to have any share in the composition either of this, or of his seditious pamphlets. He only supplies the evil will and the audacity: the venom is furnished by the dastard behind. Our future observations will, therefore, be confined to the real editor of this nefarious publication.

Ever since the revival of infidelity, its attacks have been directed against no point more frequently than the Canon of the New Testament. This selection has evinced perhaps a somewhat greater degree of policy than has usually fallen to the share of the infidel party—not that we have any fears lest, after due examination, the slightest suspicion should be entertained of the correctness of the Canon:—but it must be avowed that an original inquiry into its constitution in its full extent, calls for a combination of diligence and acuteness of rare occurrence. The works of the Fathers are of course the great sources of information, and enormous as they are in extent, no common industry must be exercised in their perusal. The Fathers too were themselves frequently mistaken; and no doubt can be entertained that some gross interpolations of their works have been effected, and many writings ascribed to them

them which never proceeded from their pens. Now without going to the ridiculous length of Daillé, or inferring that their writings are thus rendered useless as evidence, it must yet be obvious that an additional degree of caution is required to detect the forgeries and separate the interpolations from the genuine matter. The gigantic labours of the men of elder times on almost every important branch of theology, by removing all necessity for exertions like their own, have not only indisposed us for original inquiry where it may be requisite, but have actually taught many readers in divinity to consider even their own collections as appalling objects. The disinclination to extensive research thus generated has certainly been productive of evil in the present case; for until a comparatively recent period, little attention, it would seem, had been directed to the canon of Scripture. Jones, in the very outset of his excellent work, observes that before his day, that is, the beginning of the last century, 'learned men had scarcely discussed the subject at all.' The Lightfoots, the Medes, the Bulls and the Poles had not directed their unwearied diligence expressly into this channel. No one, before the remarkable period which they adorned, had dreant of moving serious controversy on a subject which had received the decision of ages. Satisfied with the evidence which their course of reading presented to them, they had no temptation to withdraw themselves from the more important task of elucidating and explaining what they knew to be the word of God. The consequence has been that we have not on this, as on almost every other topic of religious discussion, a variety of full and general treatises, which, by the care and diligence of selectors, might be presented in shapes adapted to the tastes and acquisitions of every class of readers. This has naturally presented a temptation to the infidel. It must not, however, be supposed that this important question has passed without notice from more recent writers, or that there are now no sources which supply full answers to his objections.

The consideration of the Canon of Scripture, it must be remembered, divides itself into two branches—establishing the authenticity of the books which we receive, and demonstrating the spuriousness of those which we reject. Before we advert to what has been done in each of these divisions by modern theologians, it may be right to notice a preliminary objection which has always been a favourite one with the infidel, and which is revived in the preface to the work before us—namely, that they who admit the body of Canonical Scripture, as exhibited in the New Testament, are unable to name the precise period at which it was received as such by the Christian church, or to produce the decree of any council in the first two centuries which affixes its

sanction either to the present or any other Canon of Scripture. As this is conceived to be a sufficient proof of the total uncertainty of the Canon, many triumphant inferences are of course deduced from it. 'The whole story,' it is insinuated, 'may be an imposture; at all events we may not have received the true and genuine history of it—we can have no certain accounts of the doctrines promulgated by the first teachers; and indeed the simple fact that no formal recognition of the official documents took place, is of itself a very suspicious circumstance and quite enough to cast an air of doubt over the whole transaction.' What may be the justice of these inferences a very few remarks will suffice to demonstrate. If all the Scriptures of the New Testament had professed to be sent forth together as forming exclusively the whole body of documents issued by the founders of the Christian Church, and yet no special and formal recognition of them had taken place, we can have no hesitation in saying that this deficiency would have furnished the infidel with a specious foundation for his argument. But we know that this neither was the fact, nor was it possible that it should be so. The Gospels were written at various periods, and published for the instruction of very different classes of believers; while the Epistles were addressed, as occasion required, to those various Christian communities which, by the successful labours of the Apostles, had been spread over the greatest part of the civilized earth. During their lives then, it is obvious that no formal, permanent and exclusive canon of Scripture could be drawn up; that nothing more could be done to collect their writings as they severally appeared, and to receive them with the reverence due to the words of inspiration, without deciding whether those authors might not enlighten the Church which they had founded with further instructions. That this was done, that an actual canon, though not a formal one, was erected from the very earliest periods of Christianity, has been proved to a demonstration, as every tyro in divinity knows. To give this, even if our limits would allow it, would only be to repeat the pages of Lardner and Paley: but we quote a few expressions from books of common occurrence to show the light in which the subject is considered by all respectable writers, and the peculiar honesty of reviving an objection on this ground! 'Neither,' says Bentley, (*Remarks on Free-thinking*, p. 90.) 'did the Church loiter or delay in making a canon: for within two years after the writing of St. John's Gospel the evangelical canon was fixed, and within ten after that, the epistolical canon was made: quick enough, if it be considered that they were to be gathered (whither they had been directed) from so many distant parts of the world.' Grabe\*

\* Spicil. 55. Pat. i. p. 321.

remarks,



remarks, 'Attamen paulo post mortem S. Johannis ineunte sæculo 2. et Epistolæ Apostolorum (he has mentioned the Evangelical canon before) in unum volumen collectæ atque ecclesiis pro Canone doctrinæ et disciplinæ fuere traditæ, adeo ut ipse Hereticus Marcion, anno 127 Romam veniens Apostolicum pariter atque Evangelicum canona habuerit.' Once more, 'Nösse nobis,' says Mosheim,\* 'sufficiat, quod magnis argumentis demonstrare licet, aut extincto nondum Johanne, aut non diu post obitum ejus, præcipuas Novi Testamenti partes coagmentatas esse.' The slightest reference to Lardner's† Storehouse of Evidence will show that these are no ungrounded assertions, and that, at a very early period, the custom prevailed of collecting the different parts of the New Testament into one volume. What more than this, we would ask, could be done? Should it, however, be inquired why a regular canon was not settled immediately after the death of the last of the Apostles, we would answer by asking what there was to make the establishment of the canon necessary, or even desirable? The early Christians had sufficient opportunities of examining and distinguishing 'the genuine writings of the Apostles. The way of writing,' says Dr. Jenkins,‡ 'and the hands of the Apostles were well known to those to whom they wrote, as St. Paul intimates of his own hand and manner of salutation: for when he used an amanuensis yet he "wrote the salutation with his own hand for a token in every Epistle"; and Tertullian (De Præscript. c. 36.) appeals to the authentic books or the very handwriting of the Apostles themselves.' 'Auctoritas earum (the Apostolic Epistles) probatu facilis erat per inspectionem autographorum, ipsa Apostolorum manu vel exaratorum, vel obsignatorum, quæ in archivis ecclesiarum asserbabantur, et ab aliquibus adhuc vivis, qui manus Apostolorum bene noverant, dignosci poterant.' (Spic. SS. Pat. I. p. 320.) The Epistles were transmitted by the Churches to which they were addressed to other Christian communities, authenticated by the very manner of their transmission. 'They who received them,' says Lardner,§ 'were fully assured of their genuineness by those who delivered them. And before the end of the first century, yea not very long after the middle of it, it is likely there were collections made of the four Gospels and most of the other books of the New Testament, which were in the hands of a good number of Churches and persons.' That this was the manner of the transmission and authentication of the sacred writings, one very

\* De Reb. Christ. ante Constant. p. 87.

† Lardner places the collection of the greater part of the Christian writings soon after the middle of the first century, (*Works*, vol. iii. p. 148. 4to Ed.)

‡ Reasonableness of Christianity, vol. i. p. 100.

§ *Works*, vol. iii. p. 148. 4to.

simple

simple consideration will show, namely, that the canonical books of which any doubt has been entertained were either Catholic epistles or private letters, that is, epistles not addressed to any particular Church, nor, as in the case of St. Paul's Epistles to Timothy and Titus, to individuals in their public capacity of overseers of the Church. In both these cases they would in fact be addressed as public documents to a body of men whose interest it would be to spread and authenticate them. Accordingly we do not find that the authenticity of any one of these scriptures was ever called in question. The writings exposed to such doubts were those addressed to persons not collected in a city and constituting a church, but dispersed without regularity in a number of places. So that, as Dr. Hey observes, it was no one's particular business to promote or accomplish their universal reception; and we may therefore be sure that the early reception of the two Catholic Epistles,\* which have never been controverted, must have been owing to some peculiar circumstances in their publication. Of the others it should be added, that there is no account whatever of their ever having been rejected after examination by the early Christians, but merely that, while they were always received in some places, in others they continued for a period without attracting notice, till at length their claims were examined and admitted.

We shall now proceed to notice a few of the earliest attacks among ourselves, on the Canon. The way was led, we believe, by one of the fathers of infidelity in this country, Hobbes, who, with his usual love of paradox, chose to maintain that the scriptures of the New Testament were never accounted canonical till the meeting of the council of Laodicea A. D. 364. The simple fact is, that the canons of this council are the earliest extant which give a formal catalogue of the books of the New Testament. After what has been said, it must be obvious that the silence or the authority of councils is of no moment in deciding the question, and that the authenticity or spuriousness of the principal books relative to the Christian story had been settled long before the meeting of any council at all.† The fallacy therefore, on which Hobbes chose to build his argument, is too childish to deserve any answer. Indeed, with his usual infirmity of purpose, he proceeds at once to destroy his own paradox, and allow that the New Testament may be received as a faithful account of the actions and doctrines of Christ and his apostles. Toland was the next oppugner of the canon, and

\* 1 Peter and 1 John. See Dr. Hey's Lectures, vol. ii. p. 493.

† Besides this, there is every reason to believe that the bishops at Laodicea did not mean to settle the canon, but to mention those books which were to be publicly read, which may account for their omission of the Revelations, and at all events makes their decision of no value in the light in which it is commonly used. See Lardner, vol. iii. p. 448. 4th Edition.

his attack was more regular and systematic. His Amyntor, published in 1698, professedly contained observations relating to the canon of Scripture; but its chief aim was to collect all the spurious gospels and other pretended sacred writings, and to show that they were equally entitled to credit with the books of the New Testament. This vain and superficial man,\* when looking out for some point from which Christianity might be advantageously attacked, was probably induced to fix on the canon both by that deficiency of information on the subject which he knew to exist, and also by the impression which he calculated might have been made on the Christian world by some opinions which had originated, shortly before his work appeared, with men who cannot certainly be accused of any ill-will to the cause of Christianity. We allude principally to Dodwell, who had asserted in his celebrated *Dissertations on Irenæus*, (§ 36. 39.) that the books composing the present Canon were concealed in the coffers of particular churches, or even of private persons, till the end of Trajan's or even to Hadrian's time; that they were unknown to the churches of that time, and were not distinguished from the writings of the heretics, but were bound up with them in one volume and indiscriminately used in the churches. It is needless to remark that in these assertions there is at least as much inconsistency as falsehood.

Answers were published to Toland's book by Mr. Richardson, a fellow of Emanuel, by Mr. Nye, and by Dr. Samuel Clarke, then a very young man.† Each of these was amply sufficient to rebut Toland's folly; but none of them entered so deeply into the subject as a careful inquirer might demand. It was soon perceived that in order to place the question on its proper grounds, the two branches of it must be fully investigated; that is, the authenticity and genuineness of our Scriptures must be shown by proving that they are referred to as Scripture by a series of Christian writers beginning from the very earliest periods, and the spuriousness of those which we reject must be established by demonstrating that no such reference is made to them, or that, if referred to at all, they are distinctly mentioned as forgeries and impostures. A conviction that such a full and complete investigation was necessary, gave rise

\* In a MS. book of an old and respectable clergyman now before us, we discovered the following memorandum, which we think not a little curious. 'Mr. Welby (another clergyman) told me that Toland was once at Le Clerc's at Amsterdam, and they differed about a passage in Josephus. Le Clerc took down the book and desired Toland to convince himself; on which Toland, in some confusion, owned that he did not know Greek, and Le Clerc immediately broke off all connexion with him. Gale, the famous anabaptist, was present, and gave me this account.'

† Mosheim also published a treatise called '*Vindiciæ Antiquæ Christianorum Disciplinæ contra Tolandum*,' and he attributes to this controversy the celebrated works of Eus and Frick.—(*De Rebus Christian. ante Constant. p. 87.*)

to Jones's valuable work; to the Codex Pseudepigraphus of Fabricius, and to Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel History. Jones and Fabricius employ themselves in destroying the credit of the Apocryphal writings; Lardner enters at much greater length into the establishment of the authentic ones. This latter question may be considered as entirely set at rest by his book, which, though too voluminous for the generality of readers, has found a passport to general notice in Paley's excellent abridgement of its argument. The single chapter which Paley has devoted to the consideration of the other question, would be perfectly satisfactory to a fair and candid inquirer—but the publication of the work before us has proved that a somewhat fuller investigation of it is necessary. Jones's work establishes every principle necessary in deciding on the question of authenticity or spuriousness, and carefully examines all the writings which are recorded to have claimed the character of Scripture; but it is written in a form better adapted for reference than perusal. If a small supplement to Paley were extracted from it, containing distinct evidence of the spuriousness of the Apocryphal writings still extant, preceded by a short recital of the general principles by which their spuriousness is proved, we conceive that every avenue for attacks on Christianity through the channel of the canon would be finally closed, and the reader provided with answers to every objection.

Of the want of such a popular compendium Mr. Hone's editor (with the usual policy of the deistical party, who are never ashamed of re-producing re-refuted argument, if they hope that the persons to whom they address the repetition are not aware of the refutation) has taken advantage in this revival of Toland's blasphemy. Like Toland, he has collected a considerable portion of the spurious writings now in existence, each of them preceded by a preface, presenting the pretended proofs of their authenticity,—the testimonies of early writers in their favour, their reception by heretics, the public use made of them in the churches, &c. &c. This is generally followed by a list of modern theologians who reject these writings; and when the editor has thus shown the similarity of the evidence for the canonical and the spurious Scriptures, and has carefully pointed out that Christian theologians reject it in the one case, he thinks it may be safely left to his reader's sagacity to make the inference which he desires, and inquire why it should not be equally rejected in the other. The great object of the publication, however, is to raise the positive evidence for the Apocryphal writings as high as possible, because then another process hardly less direct, for deducing the spuriousness of the New Testament, is opened. He who is deceived by the editor's statements into a belief that the evidence brought forward in favour of the Apocryphal

phal books is equally valid with the proofs of the authenticity of the New Testament, and then proceeds to peruse the nonsense they contain, will too probably be induced to reject not only what is so manifestly unworthy of the character of inspiration, but all the writings which (as he conceives) rest upon arguments so palpably fallacious.

Such, we presume, are the Editor's views; at all events, we can positively assert that the execution of the work is well worthy of one who entertains them. From the first page to the last there is a systematic disregard of truth and of every claim to literary honesty. Sometimes facts are concealed, at other times they are perverted, and where neither artifice will avail, recourse is had to direct and unhesitating falsehood. The writings of former authors are pillaged in the most shameless manner, without the slightest acknowledgement. Without having consulted one original source of information, and deriving even his slender knowledge of collectors at second-hand, the editor cites and refers to the Fathers and theologists of all classes and all ages, with a confidence truly ludicrous. His prefaces, (as far as they are true,) his notes, his tables, and his catalogues, are all copied from Jones; and he has had the astonishing audacity to publish that writer's translations as his own! Had he professed only to be a collector, and owned his obligations, no objections could be made to his proceedings on that ground; but he never intimates the existence of Jones's work, and only twice mentions its author—in those two instances there is a casual notice of some opinion held by 'the Rev. Jeremiah Jones,' without the slightest reference to the place in which it is to be found.

We now proceed to a more minute investigation of the contents of the volume:—if however, from the general preface; and the first two or three introductions to the several Gospels, we shall be able to prove that it abounds in the grossest falsehoods, and the most sottish ignorance, we know no reason why we should condemn ourselves or our readers to any further pursuit of the disgusting task.—The Preface opens with the following question: 'After the writings contained in the New Testament were *selected from the numerous Gospels and Epistles then in existence*, what became of the books that were rejected by the compilers?' The objects of this question are to bespeak a favourable hearing for these writings, whose authenticity, it is insinuated, was deemed worthy of consideration, at least by the compilers of the New Testament; and to inspire suspicion of the canonical writings which, according to this account, rest for their credit on the authority of compilers of a late age, who, as fallible men, might easily mistake between canonical and spurious writings. We assured our readers that the first page commenced with a falsehood, and

and our remarks on the constitution of the canon will have sufficiently shown that a grosser could not be devised than that which is here insinuated and, in p. vi., expressed in direct and unqualified terms. But the editor goes on to mention an opinion entertained, as he says, by many, that the New Testament was compiled at the first council of Nice, and he introduces a long account of that council from Jortin, in the very worst style of that writer, who, from a weak desire of showing his contempt for common prejudices, has, in his Ecclesiastical History, sneered with very bad taste and very unbecoming levity at men whose zeal, abilities, and learning, whatever may have been their weaknesses, entitled them to far different treatment from him. From the introduction of matter so irrelevant in any other view, we conclude that the editor deems this notion of the compilation of the New Testament worthy of attention; and though it would be absurd to engage in a serious refutation of an opinion never maintained by any writer of credit, it may be worth noticing, as an instance of the inconsistency of falsehood, that after this, in the table of writers and councils who have given catalogues of the canonical Scriptures, (which he has purloined from Jones, and printed as his own at the end of the volume,) the council of Nice is not even mentioned!

In page vi. of his Preface, (and afterwards in the work itself,) he affords ample proof of his ignorance of even the commonest matters, by the triumph with which he announces to his readers his fancied discoveries that the Apostles' Creed was not written by the Apostles! and that it did not originally contain the article of Christ's descent into hell! In connection with this latter subject it may be right to quote another instance of his disingenuousness. 'For large particulars,' says he, 'of Christ's descent into hell, see the Gospel of Nicodemus, ch. xiii. to xx.' Now, although the silly author of this Gospel has mixed up different notions in his account of hell, he decidedly represents it on the whole as the place of torments. The editor assuredly knew that this was not the sense in which the word is used in the creed; nor, had he written in the spirit of honesty, would he have endeavoured, by so unfair an artifice, to cast suspicion on one of the articles of our faith.

We pass from the preface to the work itself, which opens with the wretched tract called 'The Gospel of the Birth of Mary.' 'In the primitive ages,' says the editor, 'there was a Gospel extant, bearing this title, attributed to St. Matthew, and received as genuine and authentic by several of the ancient Christian sects. It is to be found in the works of Jerome, a father of the church, who flourished in the fourth century, whence the present translation is made. His contemporaries Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, and Austin

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Austin also quote a Gospel under this title.\* To each of the assertions contained in this passage, namely, that the Gospel which the editor presents to his readers was received by several ancient sects—that it is to be found in St. Jerome, and that it is quoted by Epiphanius and Austin, we now proceed to give a direct denial, accompanied by proof that the editor was aware of the falsehood of them all!

First, then, we assert that the Gospel before us was not received by any of the ancient Christian sects. Here, as in many other cases, the original spurious Gospel has disappeared, and the present is a miserable forgery of a later age, which has taken its place and name. Of this the editor could not possibly be ignorant, as the fact is positively stated even in the title to that very chapter of Jones's work, from which he has taken and perverted the facts in his preface. Jones there asserts that 'the present Gospel is different from the old one,' and in proof brings forward two fragments of the original Gospel, preserved by Epiphanius\* and Austin,† the first of which does not occur in the present work, and the other directly contradicts one of its most remarkable statements.

Again—Fabricius, whose work the editor quotes, prefixes the following title to this Gospel: '*Testimonia et Censuræ de libro qualis olim apud Gnosticos ferebatur; tum qui a Manichæo Seleuco, postea effectus est, tum qui hodie extat et infra sequitur.*' These '*Testimonia et Censuræ*' contain innumerable assertions from the most eminent theologians, that the present Gospel is a ridiculous and contemptible forgery. Equally discreditable with this attempt to procure for one work the credit due to another, is the suppression of the number and names of the 'several ancient Christian sects,' alluded to as having received the original Gospel. On examination, it will be found that they dwindle to two,—the Gnostics and Manichæans! The intention of this suppression is sufficiently intelligible, as the claims of this Gospel to authenticity would assuredly not be conspicuous, if supported only by two sects so infamously distinguished for their corruptions, alterations, and forgeries of Scripture.‡

Secondly, we assert that this Gospel is not contained in the works of Jerome, and that when the editor maintained the contrary, he was fully aware of the falsehood of his statement. In the printed editions, indeed, of Jerome's works, from the carelessness or the

\* Epiphanius. *Hæres.* xxvi. c. 12.

† Aug. c. Faust. xxiii. 4.

‡ Jones (Vol. II. p. 130.) thinks it possible that the Collyridians also received this Gospel, and out of it collected their ridiculous doctrine concerning the necessity of worshipping and offering sacrifice to the Virgin Mary. There is nothing in the passage of Epiphanius, (*Hæres.* lxxix. 43.) on the strength of which Jones makes this statement, to support him in it.



scrupulousness of his editors, there have been inserted three Letters, one purporting to be addressed by two Bishops, Chromatius and Heliodorus, to Jerome, requesting him to undertake a translation of this Gospel; the others pretending to be his answers, accompanied by the required translation. No one, we should imagine, could read these letters and observe the palpable contradictions\* which they contain, the excessive folly of their arguments and the barbarisms of the style in which they are written, without at once pronouncing them clumsy and senseless forgeries. If the editor, however, should profess his inability to detect the imposture, it would certainly be inconsistent with the rules of fair argument to limit an adversary's talent for misapprehension, in order to convict him of dishonesty. We must, therefore, admit his plea; but the admission will avail him nothing, for the fact is stated for him in the most decided and intelligible manner. Fabricius calls this Gospel,

\* The first of these letters begins with a positive assertion that St. Matthew was the author of this Gospel, but that he did not think it right to publish it; then it proceeds to say, that it was published by Seleucus, that it tends to the mischief of religion, and was pronounced by a synod, worthy to be disregarded by the Church! And all this of the work of an Apostle! The most curious part, however, follows. The writer says: 'Non istum libellum Canonici superaddimus Scripturis, sed ad detegendam Hærescos fallaciam, Apostoli atque Evangelistæ Scripta transferemus!' Jones deems these last words so strange that he construes them 'of a (pretended) Apostle.' The only advantage gained by thus negating the sense of the original, is, that the sentence, instead of contradicting itself, now only contradicts the commencement of the letter. The whole letter is written in so barbarous a style that it is difficult to construe it. We subjoin a sentence, which will at once convince the readers of St. Jerome how little claim it has to his name: 'Si enim hoc secretum non esset, Evangelio utique ipsius quod edidit addidisset, sed fecit hunc libellum Hebraicis literis obsignatum quem usque adeo edidit ut ex manu ipsius liber scriptus Hebraicis literis a viris religiosissimis habeatur, qui etiam a suis prioribus per successus temporum susceperunt, hunc autem ipsum librum unquam alieni transferendum tradiderunt, textum ejus aliter atque aliter narraverunt.'

The second letter sets out with saying that the Gospel of Mary is full of lies, and a forgery of Seleucus the Manichæan, and then contradicting itself like the first, asserts, that it is far from clear that it is not the work of St. Matthew. Fabricius (Cod. Pseud. I. p. 9. note) and Vossius (de Geneal. Christ. c. 4. §. 3.) suppose that the writer is distinguishing in the second letter, between two works, one composed by St. Matthew, the other a forgery by Seleucus the Manichæan. This may be the case, though the sentences on which the conjecture depends are too confused for any satisfactory decision; and, even if it be allowed, the letters contradict each other. As to the date of this forgery, nothing can be clearly made out; the Pseudo Hieronymus ascribes it to Seleucus a Manichæan, who appears to have been a notorious forger of Scriptures. If he was a Manichæan, of course the Gospel could not be older than the 3d or 4th century; but Grabe (Spic. I. p. 78.) Lardner (Works, vol. iv. p. 629.) and others, make him a successor of Marcion, in the 2d. Jones, however, (vol. I. p. 245.) Fabricius (Cod. Pseud. I. 42 and 768.) and Casaubon (Exerc. I. adv. Baron. n. 15.) decide that he was a Manichæan. He is known in Ecclesiastical History by a variety of names, Leucius, Lucianus, Leucius Charinus, Leontius, and Nexo-Charides are only a few of them: at least Beausobre (Hist. de Manich. I. p. 348.) assures us that all these belong to the same person. After all, the only authority for ascribing the Gospel to Seleucus, is, as far as we can find, the Pseudo Hieronymus, and he, as we have seen, may perhaps point to two works differing from each other, so that the forgery may have originated with the Gnostics, and have been so much interpolated and altered by Seleucus the Manichæan, as afterwards to be ascribed to him.

' Evangelium

'*Evangelium de Nativitate S. Mariæ jactatum olim sub falsis nominibus Scriptoris S. Matthæi et interpretis S. Hieronymi*,' and without hesitation, calls the letters to which we have alluded, the works of Pseudo-Chromatius, Pseudo-Hetrodorus and Pseudo-Jerome. Dupin says, that these Epistles are certainly spurious; and in this declaration, all the learned men whose opinions Fabricius subjoins to his own, Petavius, Vossius, Cave, and many others, wholly coincide. Casaubon, indeed, says, that there is not a single sentence in the Latin Gospel, which does not argue the folly of those who are unable to distinguish between its 'dirty puddle,' and Jerome's golden stream. Last of all, Jones himself, whose book was never out of the editor's hands, subscribes to the expressions of these eminent writers. We conclude therefore, as we began, with affirming, that he could not possibly be ignorant of the falsehood of the assertion which he has deliberately made.

But thirdly, we deny that Epiphanius or Austin ever quote this Gospel. The editor, indeed, has only said that they quote a Gospel under this name, and he may hope to escape under the shelter of that evasion; but if he sought to gain any thing by their testimony, he must have meant his readers to imagine that the Gospel under this title and the present were the same. When our readers are informed that these quotations of Epiphanius and Austin from the Gospel of Mary are the identical fragments which we before alluded to, as distinctly proving the existence of a different work under the same title, we may safely leave them to decide on the editor's candour. But farther, even if it were true that these writers actually quoted the present Gospel, the appealing to them for any testimony in its favour is in itself grossly dishonest. So far are they from speaking of it as a work of credit, that Epiphanius\* remarks of it,—'among the many impudent forgeries of Scripture which the Gnostics have uttered, there is one called the Gospel of the birth of Mary, in which they tell many pernicious and horrible falsehoods;' and Austin† calls it, an Apocryphal book whose authority is of no value.

The editor may, perhaps, reply that he has quoted in his preface the two fragments preserved by Austin and Epiphanius, and thus enabled his readers to judge for themselves. But how has he done this? He merely says, 'the ancient copies differed' (a careless expression of Jones, of which he has studiously avoided adding Jones's explanation) 'from Jerome's: for from one of them, *the learned Faustus, a native of Britain, who afterwards became Bishop of Rieg, in Provence*, attempted to prove that Christ was not the

\* Epiphani. Hæres. xvi. §. 12.

† August. c. Faust. xiii. c. 9.

son of GOD till after his baptism,\* and that he was not of the house of David, and tribe of Judah, because, according to the Gospel cited, the Virgin herself was not of this tribe.' The latter part of this passage is taken from the very page of Jones's work, which fully proves, and fully records, not that the copies *differed*, but that the *works* themselves were not the same. This show of candour then, which can only be intended to prevent inquiry, so far from diminishing the offence, is a very serious aggravation of it. But in the passage we have quoted, there is other matter well deserving attention, as demonstrating the editor's admirable qualifications for the task he has undertaken; 'The learned Faustus,' says he, 'a native of Britain, and afterwards Bishop of Rieg, in Provence'! Is there (except himself) a single reader of divinity, so utterly ignorant of the commonest facts, as not to be aware that Faustus was an African, a teacher of the Manichean heresy, at Carthage, and that the very first sentence of the treatise of Augustine against him is, 'Faustus quidam gente Afer, civitate Mileoctanus'? We can only account for this ridiculous error by supposing that the editor, being wholly ignorant of Faustus's history, applied to the Biographical Dictionary, which, we observe, omits the earlier Faustus, but mentions a second who flourished, as our theological readers know, about the time that Augustine wrote against him, and was accused of semi-Pelagianism. This Faustus actually was a native of Britain, and Bishop of Rieg in Provence. In the account of his life, some mention was made of Augustine, and our author was satisfied. Nor is he less accurately informed as to Faustus's character than as to the details of his life! The epithet of *learned* is, indeed, most felicitously applied to one whom Augustine (*Confess. lib. v.*) mentions as remarkable for his *gross and excessive ignorance*! Were it not for the melancholy conviction that there are but too many whose heads or whose hearts are not sufficiently protected against even this shadow of an assailant, what feeling but one could be excited by the feeble outcry of such ludicrous malignity?

We proceed, with weary steps, to the exposure of a second portion of misrepresentation and falsehood. In the Preface to the Protevangelium, a work, like the last, founded on the early gospel of Mary, the Editor says: 'The allusions to it in the works of

\* If any of our readers should have the curiosity to peruse this Gospel, they will be surprized to find not a single word in it having the remotest reference to this question. The source of the editor's blunder is a somewhat awkwardly constructed sentence in Jones, (Vol. II. p. 130.) who says, 'out of this Gospel—Faustus, after having endeavoured to prove that Christ was not the son of GOD till after his baptism, endeavours to prove that he was not of the progeny of David.' To express Jones's meaning, the sentence should run thus:—'Faustus, after having endeavoured to prove that Christ was not the son of GOD till after his baptism, endeavours to prove, out of this Gospel, &c.'

the ancient fathers, are frequent, and their expressions indicate that it had gained a very general reception in the Christian world.\*

Now not *one* of the ancient fathers refers to this gospel. Origen,\* indeed, mentions a book which was ascribed to James, and *may* have been the original of the imposture before us. Epiphanius† records that the Ebionites, to gain proselytes to their own errors, forge scriptures, and ascribe them to James and the other Apostles. Is this also 'an allusion to the Protevangelium'? But further, Epiphanius‡ and Tertullian§ also relate one or two traditions which are likewise alluded to in the Protevangelium, but without the slightest reference to it; indeed, Epiphanius (*Hæres.* lxxviii. § 7.) distinctly mentions the Jewish traditions as the source of much of his information about the birth of Christ, and the Virgin. We defy the Editor to produce another passage from any writer of sufficient antiquity, which refers to this book. These then are 'the frequent allusions to the Protevangelium in the ancient fathers'! One, probably, mentions the work of which it is an imitation; another relates a common story also related by its author, and a third, if he alludes to it at all, speaks of it as spurious and apocryphal! It is superfluous to add, that the Editor's declaration, as to the general reception which this gospel obtained in the Christian world, is pure invention. We quote another sentence from this preface, for the purpose of exhibiting his dexterity in the conversion of facts to his own purposes. 'It is material,' he observes, 'to remark that the legends of the latter ages affirmed the virginity of Joseph; notwithstanding Epiphanius, Hilary, Chrysostom, Cyril, Euthymius, Theophylact, Cæcumenius, and indeed all the Latin fathers till Ambrose and the Greek fathers afterwards, maintain the opinion of Joseph's age and family, *founded on their belief in the authenticity of this book.*' After what we have said, we need not add that this assertion is wholly destitute of truth; but the history of the statement is curious. The splendid list of names and authorities is, as usual, due to Jones; but Jones subjoins to it—not the Editor's concluding remark, but the following one: 'From all this, it is evident that the account of Joseph's age and family, which is in the Gospel of Mary and the Protevangelium, met with a very general credit among Christians;' that is,—it is very evident that the tradition adopted by the writer of this forgery was one in general circulation. The juggling change by which the Editor has made these fathers, instead of adopting the common story which the author of the Protevangelium

\* Tom. xi. Comm. in Matth. p. 223.

† Epiphanius. *Hæres.* xxx. § 23.

‡ Op. Tom. ii. Ancorat. c. 60. There is another passage of the same nature, we observe, cited by Jones from Epiphanius. *Orat. de Laud. Virg.* vol. ii. p. 292.—but there is no doubt that this oration is falsely ascribed to Epiphanius.

§ Tertullian. *Scorp. adv. Gnost.* c. 8.

inserted in his gospel for obvious reasons, receive it from him and on his authority, requires no comment.

Towards the end of this preface, we meet with the following remark. 'Postellus brought the MS. of this Gospel from the Levant, and asserts that it was publicly read as canonical to the Eastern churches, they not doubting that James was the author of it.' This statement (and we mention it as something remarkable) is the truth; but then it is not the whole truth. Had the Editor entertained any wish to put his readers in possession of the state of the case, he would have added that neither Fabricius nor Jones attach any credit to the story; that Fabricius directly questions Postellus's general credibility; and that Jones remarks, that even if Postellus's account be true, the practice of the Eastern churches in his time (the 16th century) cannot be of the slightest moment in determining the authenticity of this, or any other pretended gospel.

To press any further inquiry into the system pursued in this publication, and to penetrate deeper into the dark recesses of its falsehoods, is a task which we cannot inflict on ourselves, and which, we are persuaded, our readers will not require of us. Controversy, with a learned and candid adversary, conducted on proper principles, invigorates the mind; but the detection of the errors of hopeless ignorance, and the artifices of incurable dishonesty, is a task wearisome and revolting beyond conception. We have proceeded thus far because we conceive it a public duty to prove beyond doubt or contradiction, that Hone has a set of writers in his pay, with whom truth is an idle name, and honesty a by-word and a jest; men who, for their own evil purposes, are anxious to destroy every principle and feeling which binds the citizen to his country, and the spirit to its Creator. And assuredly no more satisfactory proof of wilful falsehood could be afforded, than we have found in the pages of the book before us. Its author has not been led into the crime of deceiving others by being the victim of deception himself; he has not produced false statements from mis-apprehension; he has not fallen into error through oversight or negligence. These things are the lot of human nature; and he who knows and trembles at his own weakness will be slow in condemning others, and in ascribing to an evil heart what may be the fruit of the same frailty in his brother. But in this case, charity can prompt no extenuation of the crime, and justice to others demands, that the deepest brand of shame should be stamped upon it. The pages of that work, from which Hone's editor has borrowed all his matter, contain a clear and a distinct refutation of every statement which he has published. The poison and the antidote were placed before him at once, and he could not learn one of the falsehoods which he has uttered, without knowing, at the same time, that it was a falsehood. He has chosen, therefore,

therefore, to deceive, without being deceived himself, and with a deep and desperate malignity, endeavours to convince others of what he knows to be false, and to lead them away from the truth which he recognizes and hates. To him we do not address ourselves: the voice of reproof and reproach would be directed in vain to one, who, before he sat down to his diabolical task, must have silenced the louder calls and admonitions of his own conscience. But we would earnestly exhort those, who, from an idle curiosity, are induced to purchase Mr. Hone's publications, and thus supply fuel to the flame, to consider\* 'that such pernicious works would neither be published nor written, if they were discouraged, as they ought to be, by public feeling; and that every person therefore, who purchases such books, or admits them into his house, promotes the mischief, and thereby, as far as in him lies, becomes an aider and abettor of the crime.'

Before we conclude, it may not be amiss to present our readers with a short specimen of the Gospels which are here obtruded on the public. We have already shown how well the editor is qualified by his knowledge and his respectability to conduct such a publication; we now wish to show how far the publication itself would be advisable, if committed to other and purer hands.

*'The First Infancy.—Chap. XIX.*

- V. 4. On a certain day the Lord Jesus was with some boys who were playing on the house-top, and one of the boys fell down, and presently died.
5. Upon which the other boys all running away, the Lord Jesus was left alone on the house-top.
6. And the boy's relations came to him, and said to the Lord Jesus, Thou didst throw our son down from the house-top.
7. But he denying it, they cried out, Our son is dead, and this is he who killed him.
8. The Lord Jesus replied to them, Do not charge me with a crime, of which you are not able to convict me, but let us go ask the boy himself, who will bring the truth to light.
9. Then the Lord Jesus going down stood over the head of the dead boy, and said with a loud voice, Zeinunus, Zeinunus, who threw thee down from the house-top?
10. Then the dead boy answered, Thou didst not throw me down, but such a one did.
11. And when the Lord Jesus bade those who stood by take notice of his words, all who were present praised God on account of that miracle.

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V. 16. Again, on another day, the Lord Jesus was with some boys by a

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\* Southey's Preface to the Vision of Judgment.

- river, and they drew water out of the river by little channels, and made little fish-pools.
17. But the Lord Jesus had made twelve sparrows, and placed them about his pool on each side, three on a side.
  18. But it was the Sabbath-day, and the son of Hanani a Jew came by, and saw them making these things, and said, Do ye thus make figures of clay on the Sabbath! And he ran to them and broke down their fish-pools.
  19. But when the Lord Jesus clapped his hands over the sparrows which he had made, they fled away chirping.
  20. At length the son of Hanani coming to the fish-pool of Jesus to destroy it, the water vanished away, and the Lord Jesus said to him,
  21. In like manner as this water has vanished, so shall thy life vanish; and presently the boy died.
  22. ¶ Another time, when the Lord Jesus was coming home in the evening with Joseph, he met a boy, who ran so hard against him, that he threw him down;
  23. To whom the Lord Jesus said, As thou hast thrown me down, so shalt thou fall, nor ever rise.
  24. And at that moment the boy fell down and died.'

And this is the monstrous stuff which (according to an article in the Monthly Magazine) is to 'command the attention of all, and the respect of those who do not yield their faith to the authority of Popish councils!' This is the horrible blasphemy which Sir Richard Phillips, the compiler of that edifying publication, tells us 'he shall not wonder to see bound up with the New Testament, and become the subject of many commentaries, expositions, and pious discourses'!

'In animam malevolam,' says the son of Sirach, 'sapientia intrare non potest;' and we have therefore no right to expect any more critical judgment from Messrs. Phillips and Hone: but we appeal from their notorious infidelity, from their groveling and perverted understandings, not to the learned and wise, but to the humblest reader of the Scripture in Christian sincerity, who feels as He, who made the heart and preached the Gospel meant that the lowest of his disciples should feel, that the Scriptures speak as never man spake, and that there is a voice of power in them which addresses itself to his inmost soul; we would ask him if he would not repel with indignation any attempt to place these drivings of the most debasing superstition by the side of that book which he rightly deems the best. God forbid that we should think, for a moment, of making any contrast between the true Gospels and the false; or of attempting to give dignity, by human praise, to that which proceeded from infinite Wisdom.

We need not add to this specimen (and it is no unfavourable one)



one) of these Apocryphal Gospels. The simple history of them all is, that they consist of passages copied literally from the genuine Scriptures, with such additions and inventions as the fancy or folly of the artful or superstitious writers suggested. They might not be altogether ill calculated for a religion and a time in which the understandings of the people were to be degraded and enthralled. But in an age and country in which the great aim is to inspire juster and sounder views of religion, no motive but a mischievous one could have suggested the introduction of such impure and noxious matter to those who would never otherwise have heard of its existence. It must be remembered, too, that for those whom curiosity or literary inquiry might engage in the perusal of the Apocryphal writings, they existed already, in a form infinitely more useful and satisfactory; and this consideration will add one proof more to those we have accumulated of the base and malignant purposes of Mr. Hone, and his associates.

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ART. III.—*Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent, during the years 1799—1804.*

By Alexander de Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland, &c. &c.

Vol. V. 8vo. pp. 865. London. 1821.

**A**LTHOUGH we have taken frequent occasions to deliver our opinion freely of the blemishes which pervade the literary productions of the Baron de Humboldt, we are not insensible of his merits; and cheerfully admit that, in the present instance, and in proportion as he advances into the interior of the equinoctial regions of America, he improves in manner as well as in matter. The sublime and majestic scenery of an invigorating climate, a productive soil, and a luxuriant vegetation, spread over a boundless territory intersected by magnificent rivers, has furnished his eloquent pen with so rapid a succession of new and interesting objects, as to relieve him from any necessity of indulging in those digressions which have sometimes been introduced to give interest to a barren subject. He is still, however, discursive; but as he indulges much less than formerly, in dry scientific dissertations, his beauties become more prominent, and those extraneous matters which, in a 'Personal Narrative,' we were disposed to consider as misplaced, are now thrown into shade, and occupy only the back ground of the picture.

We left the Baron de Humboldt and his companion Bonpland at the island of Panumana, near the confluence of the Rio Meta with the Oroonoko, in their progress up this magnificent river. In the two volumes before us,\* they complete their navigation

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\* IX. and X. but vol. V. in the original.

and examination of its main branch as high as the junction of the Atabapo; whence they are carried by the Temi and Tuamini, and by a land-journey across the mesopotamia of the Oroonoko and Amazons, to the Rio Negro, a considerable branch of the latter river; then descending the Rio Negro to the confluence of the Cassiquiare, they proceed against the stream of this natural canal to the bifurcation of, or its ramification from, the Oroonoko, where they enter this majestic river a second time, and fall down the stream to Angostura, the capital of Spanish Guaiana. We shall accompany our author along this route, in pursuance of our former plan, noticing such subjects only as may appear to be most interesting either from their novelty or importance.

On the 15th April the two travellers left the island of Panumana, and arrived the same day at the little village of San Juan Nepomuceno de los Atures, founded by the Jesuit Francisco Gonzales in 1748, and the last of the Christian establishments, in proceeding up the river, that owe their origin to the order of St. Ignatius. It is situated at the distance of a league from the foot of the great cataract, called by the Indians Mapura; and, with another of the same kind about twelve leagues higher up, named Maypures or Quittuna, is formed by innumerable rocky islets, and by compact dykes of granite which, crossing the river, connect two chains of mountains running at right angles to this part of the bed of the Oroonoko, or in the direction of east and west.

Though these rapids are sufficiently strong to interrupt, they do not wholly prevent the navigation of the Oroonoko. By the aid of ropes fixed to the crest of the rocks, the Indians are enabled, almost at all times, to haul up their barks or canoes; when the torrents happen to be too violent, they draw them on shore, and, by the help of rollers, force them along the margin till the river again becomes navigable. M. de Humboldt was surprized, he says, to find that, with all the whirling and foaming and tumultuous movement of the waters of the rapids, the roar of which may be heard at the distance of more than a league, the height of the fall, on the whole length of thirty-six miles, did not exceed twenty-eight feet perpendicular. The noise, which is three times as loud by night as by day, gives an inexpressible charm to these solitudes:—but what, says M. de Humboldt, ‘can be the cause of this increased intensity of sound in a desert, where nothing seems to interrupt the silence of nature?’ It is an observation as old as the days of Aristotle, and one which must have been very generally made, that sounds, and particularly those produced by the rushing of water, are more distinctly heard, and at greater distances, by night than by day; yet, as our

author

author justly observes, the velocity of sound decreases with the decrease of temperature, and the intensity diminishes in air agitated by a wind which blows contrary to its direction.

'It may be thought,' says M. de Humboldt, 'that, even in places not inhabited by man, the hum of insects, the song of birds, the rustling of leaves agitated by the feeblest winds, occasion during the day a confused noise, which we perceive the less because it is uniform, and constantly strikes the ear. Now this noise, however slightly perceptible it may be, may diminish the intensity of a louder noise; and this diminution may cease, if during the calm of the night the song of birds, the hum of insects, and the action of the wind upon the leaves, be interrupted. But this reasoning, even admitting its justness, can scarcely be applied to the forests of the Oroonoko, where the air is constantly filled by an innumerable quantity of moschettoes, where the hum of insects is much louder by night than by day, and where the breeze, if ever it be felt, blows only after sunset.'—vol. v. p. 68.

His own opinion is, that the presence of the sun acts upon the propagation and intensity of sound by the obstacles presented by the currents of air of different density, and the partial undulations of the atmosphere caused by the unequal heating of different parts of the soil; that the air being crossed in every direction by small currents of hotter air, the sonorous undulation is divided where the density of the medium changes abruptly; that partial echoes are thus formed, which weaken the sound, because one of the streams turns back on itself; that little movements may thus 'ride over each other;' and finally that this interruption of homogeneity in the elastic medium is the real cause of the less intensity of sound during the day.

The natural scenery around Atures affords a specimen of the descriptive powers of our author, which however suffers not a little in the verbose and languid translation of Helen Maria Williams, alias Mrs. Stone.

'The savannahs of Atures, covered with slender plants and grasses, are real meadows resembling those of Europe; they are never inundated by the rivers, and seem to wait to be ploughed by the hand of man. Notwithstanding their extent, they do not display the monotony of our plains; they surround groups of rocks, and blocks of granite piled on one another. On the very borders of these plains and this open country you find glens scarcely lighted by the rays of the setting sun, and gullies where the humid soil, loaded with arums, heliconias, and lianas, manifests at every step the wild fecundity of nature. Every where just rising above the earth appear those shelves of granite completely bare, that I described at Carichana, and which I have seen no where in the ancient world of such prodigious breadth as in the valley of the Oroonoko. Where springs gush from the bosom of these rocks, verrucarias, psoras, and lichens are fixed on the decomposed granite, and

and have there accumulated mould. Little euphorbias, peperomias, and other succulent plants, have taken the place of the cryptogamous tribes; and evergreen shrubs, rhexas, and purple flowered melastomas, form verdant isles amid desert and rocky plains. We are never wearied of repeating, that the distribution of these spots, the clusters of small trees with coriaceous and shining leaves scattered in the savannahs, the limpid rills that dig themselves a channel across the rocks, and wind alternately through fertile places and over bare shelves of granite, every thing here recalls to mind what our gardens and plantations contain most picturesque and lovely. We seem to recognize the industry of man, and the traces of cultivation, amid the wildness of the scenery.

‘But it is not the disposition of the ground that immediately skirts the mission of Atures, which alone gives the landscape so remarkable a physiognomy; the lofty mountains, that bound the horizon on every side, contribute to it also by their form, and the nature of their vegetation. These mountains are in general but seven or eight hundred feet in height above the surrounding plains. Their summit is rounded, as for the most part in granitic mountains, and covered with a thick forest of the laurel tribe. Clusters of palm trees, the leaves of which, curled like feathers, rise majestically at an angle of seventy degrees, are dispersed amid trees with horizontal branches; and their bare trunks, like columns of a hundred, or a hundred and twenty feet high, shoot up into the air, and appearing distinctly against the azure vault of the sky, “resemble a forest planted upon another forest.” When, as the moon was going down behind the mountains of Uniana, her reddish disk was hidden behind the pinnated foliage of the palm trees, and again appeared in the aerial zone, that separates the two forests, I thought myself transported for a few moments to the hermitage of the old man, which Mr. Bernardin de Saint-Pierre has described as one of the most delicious scenes of the Isle of Bourbon, and I felt how much the mien of the plants and their groupings resembled each other in the two worlds. In describing a small spot of land in an island of the Indian Ocean, the inimitable author of *Paul and Virginia* has sketched the vast picture of the landscape of the tropics. He knew how to paint nature, not because he had studied it scientifically, but because he felt it in all its harmonious analogies of forms, colours, and interior powers.’—pp. 44—47.

Nothing can be more deplorable than the state of the missions of the Oroonoko. Indeed there are but three of them in the space of a hundred leagues above the cataracts, and these are represented to have deteriorated, even to a greater degree than those of the lower Oroonoko, by the appointment of Franciscans to occupy the place of the Jesuits who originally established them. The mission of Atures had dwindled from 320 Indians to 47, and the numbers were still decreasing: they consisted of two different tribes—the one on the west of the Oroonoko, a dirty and disgusting people, called Guahiboes, proud of their

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savage independence, averse from fixed habitations and regular labour, and known to the missionaries by the name of *Indios andantes*—the others, on the east, composed of the Macoes and Salivas, a mild and tranquil people, not averse from agriculture, and not difficult to be brought under discipline. They support themselves at present chiefly by the cultivation of the cassava; under the Jesuits, they had maize, French-beans and other European vegetables: the fathers planted sweet oranges and tamarinds round the villages; and they possessed twenty or thirty thousand head of cows and horses in the neighbouring savannahs; whereas, now, both have disappeared, and horned cattle are talked of by the Indians as a race that is wholly lost. A few trunks of the orange and tamarind-trees, choked in the forests, are all that is left of the industrious activity of the first missionaries.

M. de Humboldt enumerates many causes of the present depopulation, some of which, however, existed in the time of the Jesuits. Epidemic fevers, when attended with great mortality, have frequently put whole villages to flight; the appearance of small-pox among them; a great drought, or any other unforeseen and unavoidable misfortune has seldom failed to disperse them among the woods. But that which, according to our traveller, chiefly tends to depopulate the settlements, 'is the repugnance of the Indians to the regulations of the missions; to which may be added, the insalubrity of a climate at once hot and damp, bad nourishment, want of care in the diseases of children, and the guilty practice of preventing pregnancy by the use of deleterious herbs.'

To prevent the missions from being wholly deserted, the fathers make hostile incursions into the villages of the independent Indians, under the name of *entrados*, which are avowedly undertaken for 'the conquest of souls,' though it is obviously necessary, in the first place, to secure the bodies. To effect this, the natives are usually attacked by night in their hovels, and their children seized and carried off to be distributed among the Indians of the missions, as serfs. An affecting instance of maternal tenderness, displayed on an occasion of this inhuman practice, is given by M. de Humboldt, which, he justly observes, 'proves how much the system calls for the care of the legislator.'

'In 1797 the missionary of San Fernando had led his Indians to the banks of the Rio Guaviare, on one of those hostile incursions, which are prohibited alike by religion and the Spanish laws. They found in an Indian hut a Guahiba mother with three children, two of whom were still infants. They were occupied in preparing the flour of cassava. Resistance was impossible; the father was gone to fish, and the mother tried in vain to flee with her children. Scarcely had she reached

reached the savannah, when she was seized by the Indians of the mission, who go to *hunt men*, like the Whites and the Negroes in Africa. The mother and her children were bound, and dragged to the bank of the river. The monk, seated in his boat, waited the issue of an expedition, of which he partook not the danger. Had the mother made too violent a resistance, the Indians would have killed her, for every thing is permitted when they go to the conquest of souls (*à la conquista espiritual*), and it is children in particular they seek to capture, in order to treat them in the mission as *poitos*, or slaves of the Christians. The prisoners were carried to San Fernando in the hope that the mother would be unable to find her way back to her home by land. Far from those children who had accompanied their father on the day in which she had been carried off, this unhappy woman showed signs of the deepest despair. She attempted to take back to her family the children, who had been snatched away by the missionary; and fled with them repeatedly from the village of San Fernando, but the Indians never failed to seize her anew; and the missionary, after having caused her to be mercilessly beaten, took the cruel resolution of separating the mother from the two children, who had been carried off with her. She was conveyed alone toward the missions of the Rio Negro, going up the Atabapo. Slightly bound, she was seated at the bow of the boat, ignorant of the fate that awaited her; but she judged by the direction of the sun, that she was removing farther and farther from her hut and her native country. She succeeded in breaking her bonds, threw herself into the water, and swam to the left bank of the Atabapo. The current carried her to a shelf of rock, which bears her name to this day. She landed, and took shelter in the woods, but the president of the missions ordered the Indians to row to the shore, and follow the traces of the Guahiba. In the evening she was brought back. Stretched upon the rock (*la Piedra de la Madre*) a cruel punishment was inflicted on her with those straps of manatee leather, which serve for whips in that country, and with which the alcades are always furnished. This unhappy woman, her hands tied behind her back with strong stalks of *macacure*, was then dragged to the mission of Javita.

She was there thrown into one of the caravanseras that are called *Casa del Rey*. It was the rainy season, and the night was profoundly dark. Forests till then believed to be impenetrable separated the mission of Javita from that of San Fernando, which was twenty-five leagues distant in a straight line. No other path is known than that of the rivers; no man ever attempted to go by land from one village to another, were they only a few leagues apart. But such difficulties do not stop a mother who is separated from her children. The Guahiba was carelessly guarded in the caravansera. Her arms being wounded, the Indians of Javita had loosened her bonds, unknown to the missionary and the alcades. She succeeded by the help of her teeth in breaking them entirely; disappeared during the night; and at the fourth rising sun was seen at the mission of San Fernando, hovering around the hut where her children were confined. "What that woman performed," added the missionary who gave us this sad narrative,

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tive, " the most robust Indian would not have ventured to undertake. She traversed the woods at a season when the sky is constantly covered with clouds, and the sun during whole days appears but for a few minutes. Did the course of the waters direct her way? The inundations of the rivers forced her to go far from the banks of the main stream, through the midst of woods where the movement of the waters is almost imperceptible. How often must she have been stopped by the thorny lianas, that form a network around the trunks they entwine! How often must she have swum across the rivulets that run into the Atabapo! This unfortunate woman was asked how she had sustained herself during four days? She said that, exhausted with fatigue, she could find no other nourishment than those great black ants called *cachacos*, which climb the trees in long bands, to suspend on them their resinous-nests." We pressed the missionary to tell us whether the Guahiba had peacefully enjoyed the happiness of remaining with her children; and if any repentance had followed this excess of cruelty. He would not satisfy our curiosity; but at our return from the Rio Negro we learnt that the Indian mother was not allowed time to cure her wounds, but was again separated from her children, and sent to one of the missions of the Upper Oroonoko. There she died, refusing all kind of nourishment, as the savages do in great calamities."—pp. 234—238.

The Franciscans share with the natives the fevers which prevail during a great part of the year, from the violent heat, joined to the humidity of the air, on the thickly wooded banks of the Oroonoko. 'I have had my little fever (*ma calenturita*) only eight months,' said the good missionary of the Atures, who accompanied our travellers to the Rio Negro. The fits were violent, but of short duration; and appeared to produce great debility of the muscular system. The Indians are persuaded that these tertian fevers are owing to the pestilent exhalations which rise from the bare rocks of the raudales, or cataracts. These rocks exhibit a black surface, which, it appears, is a crust of the oxyd of iron and manganese, deposited by the overflowing of the river. It is pretended, that persons, after passing the night on them, have awakened in the morning with a violent paroxysm of fever; and so strong is the conviction of their unwholesome influence, that the Jesuits have been known, on several occasions, to remove their establishments to a distance from them. Among the causes of this alleged fact, M. de Humboldt is inclined to place 'an accumulated and radiated heat, a humid atmosphere, and the want of a free circulation of air;' for in this neighbourhood, he adds, 'no breath of wind ever agitates the foliage.' The peculiar physiognomy of these equatorial regions is that of grandeur and repose; whilst hurricanes and tempests belong to islands, to deserts destitute of plants, and to those spots, where parts of the atmosphere repose upon surfaces, from which the radiation of heat is  
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very various. The thermometer, in the month of April, rarely exceeded 75° of Fahrenheit.

The scenery around the cataract of Maypures is equally magnificent with that of Atures, and is described in equally glowing language. 'In the huts of the natives,' says M. de Humboldt, 'we found an appearance of order and neatness, rarely met with in the houses of the missionaries.' Plantains and cassava are the two plants chiefly cultivated; but the inhabitants have the advantage of a very nourishing beverage, furnished by the fruit of a palm-tree called *seje*, the infusion of which yields a yellowish liquor, that tastes like milk of almonds. Cakes of cassava are dipped into this liquor; and the missionaries observed, that during the two or three months the fruit was in season, the natives became visibly fatter. The population was under sixty; in the time of the Jesuits it amounted to six hundred.

In the village our travellers found an Indian family busily occupied in baking, in the open air, large earthen vessels, two feet and a half high. This branch of manufacture is peculiar, at present, to the various tribes of the great family of Maypures, but seems to have been common, heretofore, to the natives of both Americas. 'In every part of the forests,' says M. de Humboldt, 'far from any human habitation, on digging the earth, fragments of pottery and delft are found.' To the north of Mexico, in the territories of the United States, in Florida, and in every place where traces of ancient civilization are found, the soil covers fragments of painted pottery; and the extreme resemblance of the ornaments which they display is striking. Those on the pottery of Maypures are described as 'real *grecques*, meandrites, and figures of crocodiles, of monkeys, and of a large quadruped, which,' says our author, 'I could not recognize, though it has always the same squat form.' It was probably meant for a *tapir*. The colours employed are the oxyds of iron and manganese, and particularly the yellow and red ochres found in the hollows of sandstone. The American Indian is wholly unacquainted with the potter's wheel, which, we know from the highest authority, has been familiar to the nations of the east from the remotest antiquity.

'In this part of the New Continent, (says M. de Humboldt,) surrounded by dense forests of boundless extent, we almost accustomed ourselves to regard men as not being essential to the order of nature. The earth is loaded with plants, and nothing impedes their free development. An immense layer of mould manifests the uninterrupted action of organic powers. The crocodiles and the boas are masters of the river; the jaguar, the pecari, the dante, and the monkeys, traverse the forest without fear, and without danger; there they dwell

dwell as in an ancient inheritance. This aspect of animated nature, in which man is nothing, has something in it strange and sad. To this we reconcile ourselves with difficulty on the ocean, and amid the sands of Africa; though in these scenes, where nothing recalls to mind our fields, our woods, and our streams, we are less astonished at the vast solitude through which we pass. Here, in a fertile country adorned with eternal verdure, we seek in vain the traces of the power of man; we seem to be transported into a world different from that which gave us birth.'

The jaguars, or tigers, though less ferocious than those of the East, and less disposed to attack human beings, make great havoc among the pigs of the poor Indians. The following striking instance of the rude familiarity of these animals amused us.

'Some months before our arrival, a jaguar, which was thought to be young, though of a large size, had wounded a child in playing with him; I use confidently this expression, which may seem strange, having on the spot verified facts which are not without interest in the history of the manners of animals. Two Indian children, a boy and a girl, about eight and nine years of age, were seated on the grass near the village of Atures, in the middle of a savannah, which we have often traversed. At two o'clock in the afternoon, a jaguar issued from the forest, and approached the children, bounding around them; sometimes he hid himself in the high grass, sometimes he sprang forward, his back bent, his head hung down, in the manner of our cats. The little boy, ignorant of his danger, seemed to be sensible of it only when the jaguar with one of his paws gave him some blows on the head. These blows, at first slight, became ruder and ruder, the claws of the jaguar wounded the child, and the blood flowed with violence. The little girl then took a branch of a tree, struck the animal, and it fled from her. The Indians ran up at the cries of the children, and saw the jaguar, which retired bounding, without making the least show of resistance.'—p. 76.

All animals of the feline tribe, even the lion and the striped tiger, are playful as well as ferocious, and their disposition towards the one or the other mood depends chiefly, we believe, on the state of the stomach: the jaguar of the Atures had no doubt breakfasted to his satisfaction, and played with the child just as a cat will with a mouse, when she is not hungry.

'It was among the cataracts of this neighbourhood,' says M. de Humboldt, 'that we began to hear of "the hairy man of the woods," that carries off women, constructs huts, and eats human flesh.' The natives, as well as the missionaries, firmly believe in the existence of this *anthropomorphous* monkey (as our author calls it), which they name *vasitri*, or the great devil, and of which they entertain a singular dread. Father Gilli, however, gravely relates the history of a lady (an inhabitant of San Carlos,) who

who lived several years with one of these savages in great domestic harmony: she found him, she said, kind and attentive; and was only induced to request some hunters to take her and her children back to society 'because she was tired of living so far from the church and the sacraments.' Sir Stamford Raffles has a story precisely of the same kind, respecting a lady of Borneo, who was carried off by an ourang-outang, with whom she dwelt for a long time, and received the most kind and endearing attentions from him. The *vasitri* of the new continent has never been seen; but the Borneo man of the woods is frequently caught, and is said to make very extraordinary approaches to somewhat of a reasoning faculty. That, for instance, brought home by Lord Amherst, when affronted by any of the sailors would march to the gangway, and threaten to jump overboard: and we have been assured that another of the monkey tribe, called *unka puti*, (*simia lar*) in a fit of jealousy, actually got hold of a rope and hanged himself! Such stories as these, whether true or false, are certainly in common credence throughout the equatorial regions of both the new and old world; and our author says that he and his fellow traveller 'were every where blamed in the most cultivated class of society, for being the only persons to doubt the existence of the great anthropomorphous monkey of America.' He seems inclined to think, however, that this creature may exist in the person of one of those large bears, the footsteps of which resemble those of a man, 'and which is believed, in every country, to attack women:' as all articles of popular belief, even the most absurd in appearance, repose on real, but ill reported facts, he counsels future travellers to continue their researches on 'the hairy man of the woods,' and examine whether it may not be some unknown species of bear, or some very rare monkey, analogous to the *simia chiropotes*, or *satanas*, that has given rise to these singular tales.

The dread of monkeys, tigers, and crocodiles, sinks into nothing when compared with the *plaga de las moscas*,—the torment of insects. 'However accustomed,' says our traveller, 'you may be to endure pain without complaint, however lively an interest you may take in the object of your researches, it is impossible not to be constantly disturbed by the mosquettos, zancudoes, jejens, and tempraneroes, that cover the face and hands, pierce the clothes with their long sucker, in the shape of a needle, and, getting into the mouth and nostrils, set you coughing and sneezing, whenever you attempt to speak in the open air—I doubt,' he adds, 'whether there be a country upon earth, where man is exposed to more cruel torments in the rainy season, when the lower strata of the air, to the height of fifteen or twenty feet, are filled with venomous

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nomous insects, like a condensed vapour.' When a padre-guardian chuses to exercise his vengeance on a lay-brother, he sends him to Esmeralda, or, as the monks jocularly say, 'condemns him to the mosquettoes.' 'It is now,' says M. de Humboldt, 'neither the dangers of a navigation in small boats, the savage Indians, nor the serpents, crocodiles, or jaguars, that make the Spaniards dread a voyage on the Oroonoko; it is, as they say with simplicity, *el sudar y las moscas*, "the sweatings and the flies."' The only relief is to sleep in the midst of a drove of cattle, on whom these insects prefer to settle; or in small ovens (*hornitos*) out of which they have previously been driven by the smoke of wet brushwood. We pass over the natural history of the various kinds of tipulary insects; but it is worthy of remark that these creatures, as well as the crocodiles, shun the proximity of the *aguas negras*, or *black waters*. 'On the banks of the Atabapo, the Tuní, the Tuamini, and the Rio Negro,' says our author, 'we enjoyed a repose, I had almost said a happiness unexpected.' Yet these rivers cross thick forests, like the Oroonoko, and their waters, though coloured, appear to be equally pure.

The laboured details into which our author enters on the subject of those minute animals which are capable of rendering vast countries almost uninhabitable, and of the termites which devour paper, pasteboard, and parchment, with frightful rapidity, destroying not only records but whole libraries, are fully justified, he conceives, (and we agree with him,) by the general physiological views with which they are connected. After remarking that many provinces of Spanish America do not afford one written document which dates a hundred years back, he concludes this most interesting chapter by the following general and just observations:—

'In proportion as you ascend the table-land of the Andes, these evils disappear. Man breathes a fresh and pure air. These insects no more disturb the labours of the day, or the slumbers of the night. Documents can be collected in archives without our having to complain of the voracity of the termites. The moschettoes are no longer feared at two hundred toises of height; and the termites, still very frequent at three hundred toises of elevation, become very rare at Mexico, Santa Fe de Bogota, and Quito. In these great capitals, situate on the back of the Cordilleras, we find libraries and archives, that the enlightened zeal of the inhabitants augments from day to day. These circumstances, which I here only indicate, are combined with others, that insure a moral preponderance to the Alpine region, over the lower regions of the torrid zone. If we admit, agreeably to the ancient traditions collected in both the old and new worlds, that at the time of the catastrophe, which preceded the renewal of our species, man descended from the mountains into the plains, we may admit with still greater confidence, that these mountains, the cradle of so many various nations, will for ever remain

the centre of human civilization in the torrid zone. From their fertile and temperate table-lands, from these islets scattered in the aerial ocean, knowledge and the blessings of social institutions will be spread over the vast forests, that extend at the foot of the Andes, and are inhabited in our days by tribes, whom the very wealth of nature has retained in indolence.—p. 116.

The two travellers departed from the mission of Maypures, on the banks of the great cataract, on the 21st of April. They landed at the mouth of the Rio Vichada, to examine the plants of that neighbourhood. The forests were here more thin than usual, and innumerable rocks of granite passing into gneiss were seen to rise from the plain in the forms of massy prisms, ruined pillars, and solitary towers, from fifteen to twenty feet in height. Amid this picturesque scenery, M. Bonpland found several specimens of the *taurus cinnamomoides*, a very aromatic species of cinnamon, known at the missions of the Oroonoko by the names of *varimacu*, and of *canelilla*. America has also its nutmeg-tree, the *myristica otopa*; and our author observes, 'that these barks and aromatic fruits would have become important objects of trade, if Europe, at the period of the discovery of the New World, had not already been accustomed to the spices and aromatics of India.' They are, however, known to be much inferior to the cinnamon of Ceylon, and the nutmeg of the Moluccas.

It would be doing injustice to M. de Humboldt to abridge any part of the following passage, which contains a grand and philosophical view of the various productions of the different countries of the earth.

'Every hemisphere produces plants of a different species; and it is not by the diversity of climates that we can attempt to explain, why equinoctial Africa has no laurineæ, and the New World no heaths; why the calceolarieæ are found only in the southern hemisphere; why the birds of the continent of India glow with colours less splendid than the birds of the hot parts of America; finally, why the tiger is peculiar to Asia, and the ornithorhincus to New-Holland. In the vegetable, as well as in the animal kingdom, the causes of the distribution of the species are among the number of mysteries, which natural philosophy cannot reach. This science is not occupied in the investigation of the origin of beings, but of the laws according to which they are distributed on the globe. It examines the things that are, the co-existence of vegetable and animal forms in each latitude, at different heights, and at different degrees of temperature; it studies the relations under which particular organizations are more vigorously developed, multiplied, or modified; but it approaches not problems, the solution of which is impossible, since they touch the origin, the first existence of a germe of life. We may add, that the attempts which have been made, to explain the distribution of various species on the globe by the sole influence of climate, date at a period when physical geography was still in its infancy; when, recur-

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ring incessantly to pretended contrasts between the two worlds, it was imagined, that the whole of Africa and of America resembled the deserts of Egypt and the marshes of Cayenne. At present, when men judge of the state of things not from one type arbitrarily chosen, but from positive knowledge, it is ascertained, that the two continents in their immense extent contain countries that are altogether analogous. There are regions of America as barren and burning as the interior of Africa. The islands that produce the spices of India are scarcely remarkable for their dryness; and it is not on account of the humidity of the climate, as it has been affirmed in recent works, that the New Continent is deprived of those fine species of *laurinæ* and *myristicæ*, which are found united in one little corner of the earth in the Archipelago of India. For some years past, the real cinnamon has been cultivated with success in several parts of the New Continent; and a zone that produces the coumarouna, the vanilla, the pucheri, the pine-apple, the *myrtus pimenta*, the balsam of tolu, the *myroxylon peruvianum*, the crotons, the citrosmas, the pejoa, the *incienso* of the Silla of Caraccas, the *quereme*, the *pancratium*, and so many majestic liliaceous plants, cannot be considered as destitute of aromatics. Besides, a dry air favours the development of the aromatic, or exciting properties, only in certain species of plants. The most cruel poisons are produced in the most humid zone of America; and it is precisely under the influence of the long rains of the tropics, that the American *piment*, *capsicum baccatum*, the fruit of which is often as caustic and fiery as Indian pepper, vegetates best. From the whole of these considerations it follows, 1st, that the New Continent possesses spices, aromatics, and very active vegetable poisons, that are peculiar to itself, differing specifically from those of the ancient world; 2dly, that the primitive distribution of species in the torrid zone cannot be explained by the influence of climate solely, or by the distribution of temperature, which we observe in the present state of our planet; but that this difference of climates leads us to perceive, why a given type of organization develops itself more vigorously in such or such local circumstances. We can conceive, that a small number of the families of plants, for instance the *musacæ* and the palms, cannot belong to very cold regions, on account of their internal structure, and the importance of certain organs; but we cannot explain why no one of the family of *melastomas* vegetates north of the parallel of thirty degrees, or why no rose-tree belongs to the southern hemisphere. Analogy of climates is often found in the two continents, without identity of productions.—p. 180.

Arrived at the mouth of the Rio Zama, our travellers entered a class of rivers which M. de Humboldt considers to merit great attention: the Zama, the Mataveni, the Atabapo, the Tuamini, the Temi, and the Guainia, are *aguas negras*, that is, their waters, seen in a large body, appear brown like coffee, or of a greenish black; but when the least breath of wind agitates their surface, they become of a fine grass-green, like the lakes of Switzerland: yet, says M. de Humboldt, they are beautifully clear, and agree-

able to the taste. He is unable to trace the cause of these coloured waters, but suggests that it may be owing to a mixture of carbon and hydrogen; and he quotes the opinion of Sir Humphry Davy that the tints of different seas may probably be owing to different proportions of iodine. The extreme purity of the black waters of these American rivers may be inferred from their limpidity, their transparency, and the clearness with which they reflect the images and colours of the surrounding objects. The smallest fish are visible at the depth of twenty or thirty feet; and the quartzose and granitic sand of the bottom clearly distinguishable.

On the 24th, they entered the Rio Guaviare, and at midnight reached San Fernando de Atabapo, at which resides the president of the missions of Oroonoko: the village contained two hundred and twenty-six inhabitants, and they appeared to be somewhat more civilized than in the other missions. There were also some traces of cultivation; and every Indian had a small plantation of cacao, or chotolab trees. Here, too, grew in abundance the *pirijao* palm, with a trunk of sixty feet high, and guarded with thorns. The fruit of these trees furnishes a farinaceous substance, as yellow as the yolk of an egg, slightly saccharine, and extremely nutritious: it is eaten, like plantains or potatoes, boiled, or roasted in the ashes, and affords an aliment as wholesome as it is agreeable. Each tree bears only three clusters; but each cluster contains from fifty to eighty nuts, at first yellow like the apple, and growing purple in proportion as they ripen. M. de Humboldt enumerates from eighty to ninety species of palms peculiar to the New Continent, and most of them in some way or other highly serviceable to man. Well, therefore, in journeying through the forests of the Oroonoko, might he be reminded (as he says, he was) of the assertion of Linnæus, that 'the country of palm-trees was the first abode of our species, and that man is essentially palmivorous.'

On the 29th, our travellers arrived at the mission of San Balthasar, where they were lodged with a Catalan missionary, a lively and agreeable man, who had planted a good garden, in which the fig, the lemon, the perséea, and the mammee were growing together. The Indian plantations were also in a better condition than those of the Oroonoko missions. Pursuing the route of the Zama and the Tuamini, whose inundations intersect the thick forests, they arrived, on the first of May, at the mission of San Antonio de Javita, where they had the pleasure of finding a very intelligent and affable monk. The Indians, to the number of one hundred and sixty, are much employed here in the construction of boats, from a large species of laurel, which the missionaries call



call sassafras, but which M. de Humboldt names *ocotea cymbarum*. The wood is yellow, resinous, almost incorruptible in water, and has a very agreeable smell; the trunks are hollowed out by the joint means of fire and the hatchet. Trees of various kinds and magnificent dimensions, with straight bodies of more than one hundred feet high, adorned these forests, many of them furnishing gummy and resinous substances, which are objects of trade in the village of Jayita, where they remained a few days in order to prepare for transporting their boat and effects across the *portage* of Pimichin. The climate of this mission is represented as extremely wet, the rains continuing nearly the whole year: they fell in such torrents while our travellers staid, that M. de Bonpland was prevented from collecting and drying specimens of plants, and M. de Humboldt from making astronomical observations; but they had an opportunity of getting some information respecting a singular substance called *dapitcho*, resembling caoutchouc, or indian-rubber; which is formed into balls for playing at the Indian game of tennis, or cut into cylinders to be used as corks, or moulded into great masses to serve as drumsticks. This species of caoutchouc is dug out of the ground, and was found by our travellers between the roots of two trees known by the name of the *jacio*, and the *curvana*. The first is the *hevea* or *siphonia* of modern botanists, which furnishes the caoutchouc of commerce in Cayenne; the second, which appears not to be known, is a plant with pinnate leaves, with milky juice, but thin and almost destitute of viscosity. M. de Humboldt inclines to believe that the *dapitcho* is the result of an extravasation of the sap from the roots, masses of which were found of two feet in diameter and four inches thick, at the distance of eight feet from the trunks. The same process, he thinks, of the formation of this coagulated juice, is similar to that which takes place at the depth of five or six inches between the roots of the *hymenea courbaril*, where masses of the resin *anime* (erroneously called *copal*) are discovered; and which are sometimes mistaken for amber. 'This phenomenon,' he adds, 'seems to throw some light on the origin of those large masses of *electrum*, which are picked up from time to time on the coast of Prussia.'

In advancing towards that branch of the Amazons called Rio Negro, the country became rather better peopled. Tribes of forty or fifty families existed, independent of the missions, but generally in hostility with each other, and cherishing animosities according as they dwelt in the territory which had been seized on by the Spaniards or the Portuguese. On the banks of the Amazon, and the Rio Negro, the Indians of the neighbouring Portuguese and Spanish villages detest each other. These poor

people speak only the American tongue, they are ignorant of what passes 'beyond the great salt-pool;' but the gowns of their missionaries are of a different colour, and this displeases them extremely. Here, however, the natives appeared to have something like a religion of their own. They were influenced by a Good Principle known by the name of *Cachimana*, and an evil one, *Jolokiamo*, less powerful, but more artful and active. The chief symbol of their worship is the *botuto*, or sacred trumpet, a tube of baked earth, the charge of which is confided to certain old Indians, who affect to live a pure life, in a state of celibacy, and to inflict on themselves flagellations, fastings, and other painful exercises.—Have they not, we may fairly ask, adopted these practices from the missionaries?—These *piaches*, as they are named, who are at once priests, physicians, and conjurors, evoke the evil spirit *Jolokiamo*, by certain grotesque dances, which the missionaries call the 'dance of the devils.' The *botuto*, too, has dances performed in honour of its sacred character. Women are not permitted to see this marvellous instrument, whose sounds declare the will of the great spirit, *Cachimana*. 'If they have the misfortune to catch a glimpse of it, even by accident, they are put to death without mercy.'

As M. de Humboldt permits nothing to escape him, it was to be expected that the contested points of the sources of the Rio Negro, and of the bifurcation of the Oroonoko, which connects the two rivers, would undergo a minute investigation. His researches into the accounts of former travellers, historians, and geographers, occupy, in fact, nearly a hundred pages, of which no abridgement, that we could make, in any reasonable space, would do justice to the author, or prove satisfactory to the reader. We shall proceed, therefore, with our travellers down the Rio Negro, on the banks of which the first mission is that of Marva, displaying an agreeable air of ease and prosperity, and containing about one hundred and fifty Indians; the second that of San Miguel de Davipe, where they were treated, as much to their surprise as delight, with a bottle of Madeira wine. Here they found considerable quantities of the *mani* resin, and of cordage from the *chiquechique* palm, which M. de Humboldt says deserves to be better known in Europe. It is exported to the West Indies, where it costs from fifty to sixty per cent. less than cordage of hemp.

Near the mouth of the Cassiquiare, which is the connecting stream of the Oroonoko and the Amazons, stands the fort of San Carlos del Rio Negro, on the Portuguese boundary. A few dismounted cannon were guarded by two men, and three or four Indian huts surrounded the fort. No less than twelve species of  
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smilax, furnishing the *sarsaparilla*, are found in this neighbourhood, of which the *smilax siphilitica* of the Cassiquiare, and the *smilax officinalis* of the river Magdalena, are most esteemed on account of their diuretic properties.

In this place M. de Humboldt found in the possession of the Indians, certain *green stones*, known by the name of *Amazon stones*, 'because the natives pretend, according to an ancient tradition, that they come from the country 'of the women without husbands,' or 'women living alone.' The substance of these green stones, our traveller tells us, belongs to the *saussurite*, the real jade. It takes a fine polish, and passes from apple-green to emerald green; is translucent at the edges, extremely tenacious, and sonorous to such a degree, that when cut into thin plates and suspended by a thread, it yields an almost metallic sound, if struck by another hard body. The form given to the Amazon stones is most commonly that of the Persepolitan cylinders, longitudinally perforated, and loaded with inscriptions and figures. 'It is not the Indians of our days,' observes M. de Humboldt, 'that pierced such hard substances, giving them the forms of animals and fruits. Such works, like the perforated and sculptured emeralds, which are found in the Cordilleras of New Grenada and Quito, denote anterior civilization.' He is perfectly satisfied that the natural soil of the Amazon stone is not in the valley of the river Amazon, and that both the river and the stone have obtained the name from a nation of warlike women, whom Father Acuña and Oviedo have confounded with the Amazons of the ancient world. M. de la Condamine brought home many testimonials of the Amazons of the new world, a set of independent women, who received men into their society in the month of April only. Both Raleigh and Orellana had heard, and have recounted the exploits, of the warlike republic of women without husbands. The missionary Gili tells us that Aikeambenanoes (the Tamanac name for these Amazons) is a compound word signifying *women living alone*, and he learned, he says, from an Indian that such a community did exist,—that their chief occupation was the fabrication of *sarbicans* and other weapons of war; that they had intercourse once a year with the neighbouring tribes, and that all the male children were killed in their infancy. Our traveller's own idea is, that women, in different parts of America, wearied of the state of slavery in which they were held by the men, may have occasionally united themselves together, as fugitive negroes sometimes do; and that the desire of preserving their independence rendered them warriors; but that the account of them, like most other traditions, has been grossly exaggerated.

On the 18th May, they entered the Cassiquiare, which was to

conduct them once more into the Oroonoko. The banks of this stream are thickly covered with trees of the largest dimensions; the air was stagnant, heated and humid, and the torment of the mosquitos augmented in proportion as they increased the distance from Rio Negro. In this unwholesome atmosphere they passed twelve miserable days, during which they scarcely saw the sun or a star, so dense a fog hung over the bordering forests. The state of the Christian settlements on this river is so deplorable, that on the whole extent of its course, about fifty leagues, there are not to be found two hundred inhabitants.

At the mission of Mandavac, the good father complained of his having spent 'twenty years of mosquitos in the bosques del Cassiquiare,' witnessing, in dreary solitude, the atrocious crimes of his flock, which he could neither prevent nor punish: among other abominations, he stated that an Indian alcade had, a few years before, *eaten* one of his wives, after having taken her to his plantation, and fattened her. M. de Humboldt seems disposed to believe not only in this story, but in that of the anthropophagous Indians; for, in giving the history of one Cocuy, a warrior chief, who had his harem of women, of whom he devoured the fairest and the fattest; he observes, '*I have no doubt, that Cocuy was a little of a cannibal.*' An old Indian captain, who attended our travellers in their herborizations, assured them that, in his youth, he had seen almost all the Indian tribes of the countries of the Upper Oroonoko eat human flesh, but, 'that it was only that of enemies, taken in battle.' Stories of cannibalism have existed in all ages and countries; it marks the extreme of savage ferocity, and it is related by one tribe of another, to inspire terror, or fix an indelible stain on their character. The Spaniards, meeting with most opposition from the bold and warlike Caribees, rendered them odious by making the names of Carib and cannibal synonymous, and, in consequence of it, condemning the whole nation to slavery. Some time after, when the falsehood of the charge was made manifest, it was propagated by the grave historian Herrera, that these people were cured of their cannibal appetites by devouring a Dominican monk; 'they all fell sick of him,' says he, 'and would no longer eat either monks or laymen.' We have always set our faces against vague reports of human beings feeding on their fellow-creatures from choice. To devour the flesh of enemies from a savage thirst of revenge, is a proceeding unhappily not confined to the Indians of the woods and wilds of the New Continent: in the midst of that capital which presumes to take the lead in science and civilization, scenes of this kind have taken place, which would disgrace the most ferocious Indians of America,

America, yet it would be surely incorrect to say that Frenchmen delighted to feast on human flesh. We can also conceive, (indeed the fact is sufficiently well authenticated,) that men pressed by hunger may feed on human flesh; but not from choice: we believe nothing of that 'vitiated appetite,' or, as our author expresses it, in the case of Cocuy, that 'peculiar predilection,' which would fatten a favourite mistress for the sake of feeding upon her. Nor do we think that he has been very happy in the instance which he has brought forward, 'among the terrible and well-ascertained examples' of anthropophagy from dire necessity. 'In Egypt, (he says) in the thirteenth century, the habit of eating human flesh pervaded all classes of society; extraordinary snares were spread for physicians in particular. They were called to attend persons who pretended to be sick, but who were only hungry; and it was not in order to be consulted, but devoured.' This absurd story is collected from De Sacy's translation of 'An Account of Egypt, by Abd-Allatif,' whom M. de Humboldt calls 'an historian of great veracity.' Our impression of this Mahomedan's 'veracity' is somewhat different, on recollecting him to be the same man who *saw* on the faces of the pyramids of Giza, as many inscriptions as would fill ten thousand volumes! We attach about the same degree of credit to the two stories—that is to say, we do not believe a syllable of either.

The innumerable swarms of ants and other insects, the natural consequence of the heat and humidity of the air, render it next to impossible to cultivate any of the culinary plants of Europe. If a missionary would enjoy a salad, he fills an old boat with mould and suspends it between two trees, or places it on a scaffold. As the travellers approached the bifurcation of the Oroonoko, the luxuriousness of the vegetation increased in an extraordinary manner. There was no longer a beach: a palisade of tufted trees formed the bank of the river, appearing like a canal of twelve hundred feet in width, bordered by two enormous walls, clothed with lianas and foliage. No human creature appeared in these forests. 'Not five boats,' says M. de Humboldt, 'pass annually by the Cassiquiare; and since we left Maypures, that is, for a whole month, we had not met one living soul on the rivers which we went up, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the missions.'

On the 21st May, they once more entered the bed of the Oroonoko, three leagues below the mission of Esmeralda. Opposite to the point where the bifurcation of the Oroonoko takes place, the granite group of Duida rises in an amphitheatre on the right bank of the river to the height of 8,000 feet. At the foot of this mountain lies Esmeralda, the most solitary and remote  
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Christian settlement on the Upper Oroonoko—it is a little hamlet with eighty inhabitants, surrounded by a lovely plain, bathed by rills of black, but limpid waters, and decorated with clumps of the Mauritia palm, the sago tree of America. Here large pine-apples are found, of a delicious flavour, growing solitary among the grasses, like our *colchicum autumnale*; while the karatas, another species of the bromelia, is described as a *social* plant, like our whortles and heaths.

No missionary resides at Esmeralda. A monk, living at the distance of fifty leagues, visits the spot five or six times a year, to celebrate mass; but an old officer, who took our travellers for Catalonian shopkeepers, received them very cordially, and on seeing their packages of brown paper used in drying their plants, pitied their ignorance in bringing to the mission such kind of merchandize, where, says he, we write so little. This veteran united in his person the civil and ecclesiastical authority; he taught the children to count their beads; he rang the bells; and in the ardour of his zeal for the service of the church, he sometimes employed his staff of office in a manner not the most agreeable to the natives. Among the congregation were several mulattos and copper-coloured people, who fancied they were white, and called themselves Spaniards, because they were not quite so red as the Indians: they were, for the most part, male-factors, who had been banished from the lower parts of Guyana, and were in a state of absolute starvation. Not a cow or a horse is to be found; and the inhabitants are so indolent as to be frequently reduced to the necessity of eating smoked monkey-hams, and flour of the pounded bones of fish; cultivating nothing but a little cassava and a few plantains—‘yet,’ says M. de Humboldt, ‘the site of the mission is highly picturesque; the surrounding country is lovely, and of great fertility. I never saw clusters of plantains of so large a size as these; and indigo, sugar, and cacao might be produced in abundance, if any trouble were taken for their cultivation.’ This spot obtained its name and temporary celebrity from a mineralogical error. ‘The granites of Duida and Maraguaca contain, in open veins, fine rock crystals, some of them of great transparency, others coloured by chlorit, or blended with actinote;’ and these were taken for diamonds and emeralds. This delusion has long since vanished, and Esmeralda is now regarded by the monks as a place of banishment and malediction.

It is still famous, however, for the fabrication of that active and deadly poison employed by the Indians in war, in the chase, and as a remedy for gastric obstructions, and known by the name of *curare*. Like the woorara, the ticuna, the upas-ticute, and some other vegetable poisons, it destroys only when introduced into

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the vascular system. It is extracted from a liana, or creeper, called *bijuco de mavacure*, a plant of the strychnos family, and of which the bark and a part of the albumen contain this terrible poison. An old Indian, whom M. de Humboldt visited while preparing the curare, observed, that it was better than that black powder used by the white people, which makes a noise, whereas, ours, said he, 'kills silently.' Taken internally, the natives consider it as an excellent stomachic; and the missionaries maintain, that the flesh of animals is never so good as when they have been killed by a poisoned arrow. Father Zea, who accompanied our travellers, had a live fowl and an arrow brought to his hammock every morning, not choosing to confide the important operation of pricking it in the right place to any other person. It took two or three minutes to kill a large bird by pricking it in the thigh; and it was sometimes ten or twelve before a pig or a pecori expired.

'When we reached Esmeralda,' says M. de Humboldt, 'the Indians were just returned from an excursion which they had made to the eastward, to gather *juvias*; and their arrival was celebrated by a festival.' The *juvia*, a species of palm, is one of the most majestic trees of the New World, and is found in a wild state in the forests of the Upper Oroonoko: though not more than two or three feet in diameter, it frequently attains the height of a hundred and twenty feet. The fruit is generally as large as the head of a child, and contains from fifteen to twenty nuts in each pericarp; they are of a triangular form, and are sold in this country and Portugal under the name of Brazil chesnuts. When fresh, their taste is most agreeable. The fruit falls to the ground, our traveller says, 'with a tremendous noise,' when the monkeys, the manavires, the squirrels, the cavies, the parrots, and the macaws catch the signal, and hasten to the spot to dispute the prey. They have all strength enough to break the ligneous tegument of the seed; they get out the kernel and carry it to the tops of the trees. 'A tale is very current,' M. de Humboldt says, 'on the banks of the Lower Oroonoko, that the capuchin and cacajao monkeys place themselves in a circle, and, by striking the shell with a stone, succeed in opening it.' These monkeys, it is added, are taught to ascend the tree, and to throw down the ripe nuts. This we can readily believe, as the *simia carpolegus* (the *bruah* of the Malays) is trained by the natives of Sumatra to ascend the trees for the purpose of throwing down the cocoanuts, 'the ripe ones of which,' says Sir Stamford Raffles, 'he selects with great judgment, and pulls no more than he is ordered.'\*

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\* *Linnean Transactions*.—v. XIII.



The festival was celebrated by dancing, and by all the excesses of the most savage intoxication, which lasted for several days. The women, however, were excluded from the entertainment; their business was to serve the men with fermented liquors, palm-cabbage, cakes made of fish flour, and other delicate viands prepared for the occasion; among which were large roasted monkeys blackened by smoke. M. de Humboldt says that the manner in which these anthropomorphous animals are placed, in a sitting posture on a wooden grating, to be broiled and blackened at the same time, is singularly disagreeable to the eyes of civilized man, and that 'on seeing the natives devour the arm or leg of a roasted monkey, it is difficult not to believe that this habit of eating animals, that so much resemble man in their physical organization, has, in a certain degree, contributed to diminish the horror of anthropophagy among savages.'

At this festival, the Indian *men* (for the women, as we have said, took no part in it) danced in a circle with most consummate gravity, to the slow and plaintive sounds of a series of reeds of unequal length, resembling the pipe of Pan; the uniting of these reeds, and drawing from them a succession of sounds by passing them before the lips, is, according to M. de Humboldt, a simple idea, such as naturally presented itself to every nation. 'The Greeks,' he observes, 'said, with truth, that reeds had contributed to subjugate nations by furnishing arrows; to soften men's manners by the charms of music, and to unfold their understanding by affording the first instruments for tracing letters'—uses which, he thinks, mark three different periods in the history of nations: the tribes of the Oroonoko have as yet, he says, attained merely the first step of dawning civilization, 'the reed serving them only as an instrument of war and of hunting:—on his own principle, they have reached the second.'

Languid and weak from bad and scanty food, the perpetual torment of insects, and a protracted voyage in narrow and damp boats, our travellers left the mission of Esmeralda on the 23d of May, not sorry to set the head of their boat down the stream. The banks were on both sides entirely deserted, and M. de Humboldt observes, that 'there is something melancholy and painful in this aspect of a river, in which not even a fisherman's canoe is seen.' It has not however been always thus. Besides the painted pottery frequently dug up in the forests; here and in other parts of Guayana, he says, 'rude figures resembling the sun and moon, and different animals, are found traced on the hardest rocks of granite, and attest the anterior existence of a people, very different from those who became known to us on the banks of the Oroonoko.' We cannot follow M. de Humboldt in the speculations

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to which these sculptured rocks give rise; but we may without difficulty accede to the conclusion which he draws from them. 'I do not assert that these figures prove the knowledge of the use of iron, or that they denote a very advanced degree of culture; but even on the supposition, that instead of being symbolical, they are the fruits of the idleness of hunting nations, we must still admit an anterior race of men, very different from those who now inhabit the banks of the Oroonoko and the Rupunuri.' As we meet with pretty nearly the same sort of performances by the uninstructed Hottentots of Southern Africa, we should certainly deem them 'the fruits of idleness' in both cases.

Proceeding down the stream at the rate of four miles an hour, our travellers reached the mission of Santa Barbara in thirty-five hours from Esmeralda. It is situated near the confluence of the Rio Ventuari, which, next to the Guaviare, is perhaps the largest tributary stream of the Oroonoko. The village consisted of one hundred and twenty inhabitants, and considerable traces of industry were manifest; but the best part of the produce was reserved for the Church. They were in daily expectation of a massive silver lamp purchased by the labour of the neophytes. 'Let us hope,' says M. de Humboldt, "that after the arrival of this lamp, they will think also of clothing the Indians, of procuring for them some instruments of agriculture, and of assembling their children in a school.'

On the 27th May they reached San Fernando de Atabapo, and were lodged in the same house as when going up the river a month before. The president of the missions, who resides here, was not at all easy as to the real object of the journey made by our travellers; and at their departure pressed M. de Humboldt earnestly to leave a writing in his hands, bearing testimony to the good order that prevailed in the Christian settlements on the Oroonoko, and the mildness with which the natives were generally treated. He convinced this worthy ecclesiastic, however, that the testimony of a heretic, two hundred leagues from the coast, and in the centre of the missions, when he was, as the inhabitants of Cumana archly say, *en el poder de los frayles*, (in the power of the monks,) might have somewhat of a suspicious appearance, as rather compelled than voluntary: and he ventured to offer, in lieu of it, some good advice as to the treatment of the Indians; but, observes M. de Humboldt, 'I believe the president wished that those who gather plants and examine rocks would renounce that indiscreet interest in the copper-coloured race, and in the affairs of human society in general.'

On the 27th they reached the mouth of the Rio Mataveni, and the following day the great cataract of Maypures or Quittana. On the

the morning of the 31st they passed the rapids of Guahiboes and Garcita, and in the evening landed on the eastern bank of the river in order to visit the cavern of Ataruipe, the sepulchre of a whole nation now lost. The account of this visit is sufficiently curious to induce us to give it in the author's own words.

'We climbed with difficulty, and not without some danger, a steep rock of granite, entirely bare. It would have been almost impossible to fix the foot on its smooth and sloping surface, if large crystals of feldspar, resisting decomposition, did not stand out from the rock, and furnish points of support. Scarcely had we attained the summit of the mountain, when we beheld with astonishment the singular aspect of the surrounding country. The foamy bed of the waters is filled with an archipelago of islands covered with palm-trees. Toward the west, on the left bank of the Oroonoko, stretch the savannahs of the Meta and the Casanare. They resembled a sea of verdure, the misty horizon of which was illumined by the rays of the setting sun. Its orb, resembling a globe of fire, suspended over the plain; and the solitary Peak of Uniana, which appeared more lofty from being wrapped in vapours that softened its outline; all contributed to augment the majesty of the scene. Near us the eye looked down into a deep valley, enclosed on every side. Birds of prey and goatsuckers winged their lonely flight in this inaccessible circus. We found a pleasure in following with the eye their fleeting shadows, as they glided slowly over the flanks of the rock.

'A narrow ridge led us to a neighbouring mountain, the rounded summit of which supported immense blocks of granite. These masses are more than forty or fifty feet in diameter; and their form is so perfectly spherical, that, appearing to touch the soil only by a small number of points, it might be supposed, at the least shock of an earthquake, they would roll into the abyss. I do not remember to have seen any where else a similar phenomenon, amid the decompositions of granitic soils. If the balls rested on a rock of a different nature, as it happens in the blocks of Jura, we might suppose, that they had been rounded by the action of water, or thrown out by the force of an elastic fluid; but their position on the summit of a hill alike granitic makes it more probable, that they owe their origin to the progressive decomposition of the rock.

'The most remote part of the valley is covered by a thick forest. In this shady and solitary spot, on the declivity of a steep mountain, the cavern of Ataruipe opens itself; it is less a cavern than a jutting rock, in which the waters have scooped a vast hollow, when, in the ancient revolutions of our planet, they attained that height. We soon reckoned in this tomb of a whole extinct tribe near six hundred skeletons well preserved, and so regularly placed, that it would have been difficult to make an error in their number. Every skeleton reposes in a sort of basket, made of the petioles of the palm-tree. These baskets, which the natives call *mapires*, have the form of a square bag. Their size is proportioned to the age of the dead; there are

are some for infants cut off at the moment of their birth. We saw them from ten inches to three feet four inches long, the skeletons in them being bent together. They are all ranged near each other, and are so entire, that not a rib, or a phalanx is wanting. The bones have been prepared in three different manners, either whitened in the air and the sun; dyed red with onoto, a colouring matter extracted from the *bixa orellana*; or, like real mummies, varnished with odouriferous resins, and enveloped in leaves of the *heliconia* or of the plantain tree. The Indians related to us, that the fresh corpse is placed in damp ground, in order that the flesh may be consumed by degrees; some months after, it is taken out, and the flesh remaining on the bones is scraped off with sharp stones. Several hordes in Guyana still observe this custom. Earthen vases half-baked are found near the *mapires*, or baskets. They appear to contain the bones of the same family. The largest of these vases, or funeral urns, are three feet high, and five feet and a half long. Their colour is greenish gray; and their oval form is sufficiently pleasing to the eye. The handles are made in the shape of crocodiles, or serpents; the edge is bordered with meanders, labyrinths, and real *grecques*, in straight lines variously combined. Such paintings are found in every zone, among nations the most remote from each other, either with respect to the spot which they occupy on the globe, or to the degree of civilization which they have attained. The inhabitants of the little mission of Maypures still execute them on their commonest pottery; they decorate the bucklers of the Otaheiteans, the fishing implements of the Eskimoes, the walls of the Mexican palace of Mitla, and the vases of ancient Greece. Every where a rhythmic repetition of the same forms flatters the eye, as the cadenced repetition of sounds soothes the ear. Analogies founded on the internal nature of our feelings, on the natural dispositions of our intellect, are not calculated to throw light on the filiation and the ancient connections of nations.—p. 615.

M. de Humboldt assigns many reasons for concluding that some of these *mapires* and painted vases could not be more than a century old. Several families of the Atures still existed in 1767; and our travellers saw an old parrot at Maypures, which 'was not understood, because it spoke the language of those people.' They found the skulls of an European race mingled with the skeletons of the natives, and preserved with the same care.

'We withdrew (says M. de Humboldt in one of those descriptive and picturesque passages which flow with such sweetness and simplicity from his pen) in silence from the cavern of Atarupe. It was one of those calm and serene nights, which are so common in the torrid zone. The stars shone with a mild and planetary light. Their scintillation was scarcely sensible at the horizon, which seemed illumined by the great nebulae of the southern hemisphere. An innumerable multitude of insects spread a reddish light on the ground, loaded with plants, and resplendent with these living and moving fires, as if the stars of the firmament

ment had sunk down on the savannah. On quitting the cavern, we stopped several times to admire the beauty of this singular scene. The odoriferous vanilla, and festoons of bignonia, decorated the entrance; and above, on the summit of the hill, the arrowy branches of the palm-trees waved murmuring in the air.'—p. 623.

The situation of Uruana is extremely picturesque. Granite rocks rise in the form of pillars, and rear their heads above the tops of the tallest trees of the forest. No where does the Oroonoko display a more majestic aspect; more than three miles in width, it flows without a winding like a vast canal. This mission is peopled by the Otomacs, a tribe in the rudest state of existence, and presenting, as we are told, one of the most extraordinary physiological phenomena. 'They eat earth; that is, they swallow every day, during several months, very considerable quantities, to appease hunger, without injuring their health.' These people are of robust constitutions; hideous in appearance, savage, vindictive, ravenous, and passionately fond of fermented liquors. Their usual food is fish, the catching of which is necessarily suspended during the inundations; it is then that they swallow such quantities of earth; and surprizing, says M. de Humboldt, as it may appear, they do not become lean during the long lent of the overflow. In their huts were found balls of this earth, (a very fine and unctuous clay of a yellowish gray colour,) often of five or six inches in diameter, piled up in pyramids three or four feet high.

We cannot follow our author through twenty pages of inquiry into the use of earths by various people, as an article of food; it is sufficient to observe that on this, as on every other question, he collects all the facts and authorities that exist on the subject, from the balls of the Otomacs, to the *steinbutter* of the quarriesmen of Kiffhæuser, 'who spread a very fine clay upon their bread, instead of butter, and find it singularly filling and easy of digestion.'

On the 7th June our travellers left Uruana, and in ten days reached Angostura, the capital of Guyana, having made, in seventy-five days, a voyage of 500 leagues almost wholly on great rivers, and generally stretched at full length, (not quite as much at their ease as the Athenian ambassadors to the Persian court,) in a narrow canoe, under a burning sky, and surrounded by swarms of musquitoes. 'Coming from an almost desert country, we were struck,' says M. de Humboldt, 'with the bustle of a town, which has only six thousand inhabitants. Humble dwellings appeared to us magnificent, and every person with whom we conversed, seemed to be endowed with superior intelligence.' We can readily enter into his feelings, when he saw for the first time, 'wheaten bread on the governor's table.'

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And here we must take leave of the present portion of the work, the remainder of this volume (about a hundred and eighty pages) being occupied with geographical details on the delta of the Oroonoko, and on the voyages and travels which have been performed on this magnificent river and its numerous branches; and more particularly with a review of the old writers on the equinoctial regions on the New Continent, the hazardous enterprises to discover the country of the El Dorado, or *Gilded Man*, (el rey o' hombre dorado,) and the numberless traditions on the subject. These, together with those of the lake Parime, or white sea, and the city of Manoa, have long been exploded by sober geographers: yet were they not without some foundation. It was natural that they, whose sole object was the search after gold, should, in their ignorance, mistake for gold all that glittered; and Raleigh, in the south, no more meant to deceive, than Frobisher (with his 'marcasites of gold') did in the north, when he gave a description of 'that gilded king (el dorado) whose chamberlains, furnished with long sarbacans, blew powdered gold every morning over his body, having first besmeared it with aromatic oils'; or when he asserted that 'every mountain, every stone in the forests of the Oroonoko, shines like the precious metals;' and that 'if it be not gold, it is the *madre del oro*.' It was the general ignorance of the age that made both these intrepid adventurers mistake the spangles of mica for the dust of gold.

To say merely that we have been pleased with the narrative and observations which this circumnavigation (for we may so call it) of five great rivers of America, the Apure, the Oroonoko, the Atabapo, the Rio Negro, and the Cassiquiare, has produced, would convey but an imperfect expression of our own feelings, and of that tribute to the merits of M. de Humboldt to which he is so eminently entitled. The views he has taken of this magnificent country are so clear, detailed, and comprehensive, that the reader has perpetually before him a panorama of the surrounding objects as he travels along. The features of the route, it is true, are of the grandest and most striking description; but where the lord of the creation plays so subordinate a part as in the forests of the Equinoctial regions of the New World, it required the talent and the research of a Humboldt to give to his observations and descriptions that degree of interest which those volumes will be found to possess. Dull and wearisome as many parts of his discussions certainly are, we toil through them with the certainty that some ingenious theory, some beautiful illustration, some curious facts will be brought to elucidate the point in question. Nothing is left undescribed by the author, nothing undefined; indeed, if he have any fault, beside that of indulging too much in scientific and philosophical

philosophical dissertations, it is that of being too minute and discursive in his physical researches. The subject, however, is important, and of increasing interest;—but we must stop; and we cannot better conclude this article, than with the author's concluding paragraph:

‘I have described in this and the preceding volume the vast provinces of Venezuela and Spanish Guyana. While examining their natural limits, their climate, and their productions, I have discussed the influence produced by the configuration of the soil on agriculture, commerce, and the more or less rapid progress of society. I have successively passed over the three regions that succeed each other from north to south; from the Mediterranean of the West Indies to the forests of the Upper Oroonoko and of the Amazon. The fertile land of the shore, the centre of agricultural riches, is succeeded by the steppes, inhabited by pastoral tribes. These steppes are in their turn bordered by the region of forests, the inhabitants of which enjoy, I will not say liberty, which is always the result of civilization, but a savage independence. On the limit of these two latter zones the struggle now exists, which will decide the emancipation and future prosperity of America. The changes which are preparing cannot efface the individual character of each region; but the manners and condition of the inhabitants will assume a more uniform colour. This consideration perhaps adds an interest to a tour, made in the beginning of the 19th century. We like to see traced in the same picture the civilized nations of the shore, and the feeble remains of the natives of the Oroonoko, who know no other worship than that of the powers of nature; and who, like the Germans of Tacitus, *deorum nominibus appellant secretum illud, quod sold reverentid vident*.’—p. 863.

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ART. IV.—*Memoirs from 1754 to 1758*. By James, Earl of Waldegrave, &c. London. 1821. Small 4to. pp. 176.

**JAMES**, second Earl of Waldegrave, the author of these Memoirs, was the great grandson of James II. by Arabella Churchill, sister of the great Duke of Marlborough. His grandfather, a roman-catholic, was created a baron by his royal father-in-law, followed him into exile, and died at Paris in 1689. His son, however, became a protestant in 1722, and was successively created Viscount Chewton Earl of Waldegrave, and a Knight of the Garter. His eldest son, born in 1715, was the author of these Memoirs, and succeeded to the title in 1741; and in 1743, notwithstanding his jacobite connexions, was appointed Lord of the Bedchamber by the personal favour of George II.

‘Such offices were then held in high estimation; they often led to favour and greatness. It was in the spirit of those times to be more greedy of imaginary honours, than obsequious to real power. Noblemen of the first rank sought with avidity employments which their descendants regard with indifference, or reject with disdain, as badges of



of dependence, rather than marks of distinction or importance.'—*Introduction*, p. viii.

This observation of the editor is very just; and it is not uninteresting, nor foreign from our subject, to examine what may be the cause of such a change—for we do not believe that men, high or low, are more disinterested or less ambitious now than they were a reign or two ago. We are aware that the alteration is attributed *exclusively* to a *spirit of independence*; and that a philosophical indifference to court-favour is considered as one of the results of 'the force of public opinion.' There is some truth in this: the motives and actions of public men, and particularly of those who may be connected with the government, are liable to such misrepresentations—and on the other hand—those who oppose the Court and reject its honours are so naturally the objects of popular applause, that the same vanity which formerly courted the smiles of kings now flatters a more noisy but not a more discriminating or honourable patron.

But there is also another circumstance which has still more tended to lower the rate of such offices as Lords of the Bedchamber—we mean the alteration in the modes of the private life of our sovereigns:—such places gave, as the editor says, in the reign of George II., access to the king's presence and opportunities of intercourse and of influence; but his late Majesty's domestic taste and habits (and probably the general influence of the age co-operating with those tastes and habits) induced him to get rid, as much as he could, of the irksome ostentation of his rank, and to live, as far as he might, as a *private gentleman*. One by one, the pride, pomp and circumstances of the *court*, (as it was understood in the times of our grandfathers,) vanished—the royal circle became matter of personal selection rather than of official designation; Lords of the Bedchamber became in fact sinecurists, and they have now no more share in the personal society of the sovereign, and little more access to his person, than any other noblemen: if, 'the descendants of noblemen of the first rank' now despise or reject what their ancestors sought with so much eagerness, it is not, we believe, that they are less vain, or less interested, or less ambitious, but because the places themselves, in the present state of society, can no longer contribute either to vanity, interest or ambition. If the Court of England should ever be re-established on its old principles, and if some future monarch should condemn himself to live the life of a *king*, and to find amongst his *official* servants all the pleasures of his *private society*, we do not doubt that we should see these now disregarded offices rise again into the same kind of request and consideration in which they were held in the time of George II. and his predecessors.

Soon after the death of Frederic Prince of Wales, dissensions in the family of the young Prince, afterwards George III., led to the resignation of his Governor, Lord Harcourt; Lord Waldegrave was, in 1752, selected by the King to succeed him; and with this appointment, though they affect to begin two years later, we must take up the *Memoirs*.

The first and greatest value of works of this nature is TRUTH, and under this general term we include not merely accuracy as to facts, but impartiality as to persons, and a critical judgment in weighing the *motives* of men—making a charitable allowance for the actions of antagonists, and viewing those of friends with a judicious distrust. So high a degree of impartiality is perhaps unattainable—we certainly are not aware of any of this class of writers to whom it is entirely attributable, and, generally speaking, it is only their *admissions against* themselves which can be safely relied on; all the rest, even mere matters of fact, are so distorted or discoloured, that in the memoirs of opposite partizans we can hardly believe we are reading the characters of the same men and the story of the same times.

An additional mischief is, that these very works which are, from the infirmity of our nature, the least entitled to implicit credit, do also, from the same infirmity, receive it. We are naturally credulous, and when a man sits down in the calm retirement of his closet to give us an account of what he himself has seen or done, he can hardly fail, if he has any plausibility, to carry us along with him. We become his confidants, and are flattered by being let into the secret; and a whole train of feelings concur in rendering us the dupes of the vanity, the malignity, the prejudices, or the errors of the writer. *Memoirs* are, in truth, literary scandal, and are, generally speaking, liable to all the suspicions which attach to verbal scandal.

We have dwelt with some earnestness on this preliminary topic, both because it is of great general importance in appreciating this class of literature, and because it ought to be particularly kept in view when, as in the *Memoirs* before us, the partiality is so artful and so gentlemanlike as neither to offend our taste, nor to excite our suspicions. They are written undoubtedly with ability and temper, and with an appearance of more candour than is usual in political writing; but we must say that the *candour* even of Lord Waldegrave was no match for the ordinary feelings of human nature, and that, with the soberest air of impartiality and dignity, he sometimes permits his little personal feelings to distort facts, to discolour truth, and even to make insinuations of the *grossest* nature. This observation is particularly striking throughout all that part of his work which relates to his late Majesty, his mother the princess-

cess-dowager, and the persons who formed the court and council of Leicester House.

Lord Waldegrave begins by hinting that, in the rupture with his predecessor, the princess was chiefly in fault, and he talks quite patriotically about the want of due authority in the late governor, of backstair-manners and of nursery-influence. We fancy a very different story might be told: but let us examine the justice of these insinuations by the light which Lord Waldegrave himself gives us. He honestly confesses that the princess-dowager, 'during the life of the prince her husband, had distinguished herself by the most decent and prudent behaviour,' p. 36. ;—and that she continued, until long after the appointment of Lord Waldegrave, 'the same wise and dutiful behaviour;' so that 'in a word, his Majesty's tenderness for the princess and her family, and the princess's duty and obedience to the King were applauded by the whole nation.'—p. 37.

But while the Princess conducted herself in a manner so exemplary, Lord Harcourt and the Bishop of Norwich, as Lord Waldegrave himself states the matter, 'attempted to form an interest (about the young prince) *independent of the mother.*' p. 37. Now we beg to ask, was it unnatural, was it-blameable in the princess-dowager to wish for the removal of persons who so grossly betrayed their trust, and betrayed it for the purpose of breaking the strongest tie of nature—a mother's interest with her child? Kings must, perhaps, be educated on different principles from other men; but who will venture to blame the indignation of a mother who finds her son's tutors endeavouring to make an *interest in his mind against her*? It is unnecessary to add a word more on this point, except that Lord Harcourt's *resignation* ought, if Lord Waldegrave represents the matter truly, to have been an open *dismissal*.

To Lord Harcourt succeeded Lord Waldegrave; and here again the princess-dowager might have justly complained; for in the midst of 'the most decent and dutiful behaviour' on her part, a governor was appointed, as far as appears from these Memoirs, without her previous consent or approbation: but, instead of complaint or ill humour, her royal highness and the prince received Lord Waldegrave most graciously, and all went on good-humouredly and kindly—(Lord Waldegrave tells us that he almost looked upon himself as a favourite)—till the year 1755, when 'the scene,' says his lordship, 'suddenly changed,' and all the praise of '*dutiful behaviour*' is now as suddenly sunk in insinuations of *intrigue, disobedience, and opposition to the King.*' Such insinuations make of course considerable impression, particularly when contrasted with the favourable account so lately and so candidly given of the princess's conduct; but after a few pages we find that this sudden

*change* took place just about the time that the dowager and the young prince thought they could dispense with *Lord Waldegrave's services!* Lord Waldegrave looks upon his authority as a portion of that belonging to the royal grandfather, and he is inclined to treat the desire of getting rid of *him* as downright rebellion against the king; but before we join altogether in Lord Waldegrave's feelings on this point, let us recollect that the prince was in his eighteenth year—that he was, at least in the King's and Lord Waldegrave's opinion, old enough to be *married* (for the choice of a lady was one of the topics of difference)—nay, that Lord Waldegrave was not removed until many months after the prince had attained his *legal majority* fixed under the Regency act. It was surely high time to think of getting rid of a governor when the pupil had become by law entitled to govern these realms.

But even if this were not the case, he could not, with any show of justice, have complained of their not being fond of him, for, as the Editor admits, 'Lord Waldegrave had failed to acquire the confidence of his pupil; and he does not seem to have ingratiated himself with the princess-dowager, who always suspected him, and (in the language of his friend Horace Walpole) "took for a spy a man who would have scorned to employ one."' The praise, even if just, is not great; but though he might have scorned to employ a spy, it is not quite so clear that he did not condescend to act a little like one.—In the appendix to these *Memoirs* some confidential letters of Mr. Fox to his political friends are given, from which it is clear that Lord Waldegrave gave intelligence of the proceedings and feelings at Leicester House to Mr. Fox, who, as is well known, was looked upon as the avowed opponent of that party, on account of his devotion to the Duke of Cumberland.

Perhaps these passages in Mr. Fox's letters may not quite justify the calling Lord Waldegrave a *spy*; but surely there is enough to excuse the princess for some little disbelief of his lordship's exclusive attachment to her and his pupil, and to relieve her from all the blame of Horace Walpole and all the insinuations of Lord Waldegrave of her having unjustly suspected the latter. But whether the Princess of Wales had reason to take Lord Waldegrave for a spy or not,—whether or not she had reason to be satisfied with his original appointment or conduct,—all the world must confess that a young prince of eighteen, whom they already thought of marrying, and who was of age by law to govern his kingdoms if his grandfather should die, might, without any disobedience or spirit of intrigue, wish to be relieved from the authority of a governor, and to see his household placed on a more manly and respectable footing. So blind is self-interest to every other consideration, that Lord Waldegrave was evidently of a different opinion; and the abolition of his office,—  
though

though delayed five months,—though communicated to him with all possible delicacy,—though conducted between him and the prince and princess with great politeness, and though softened to his lordship by the grant of a lucrative sinecure, yet left an impression on his mind, and has communicated a colour to his pages, highly unjust both to the princess-dowager and to his late Majesty; and, therefore, we must receive, with great caution and with much abatement, the characters which he draws of these illustrious persons, and of Lord Bute, to whose increasing influence he chose to attribute the loss of an office which, in fact, had expired by the course of nature.

We do not make these observations to depreciate Lord Waldegrave's general veracity, much less to accuse him of wilful misrepresentation; but human nature is, at best, but human nature, and Lord Waldegrave would have been more than man if he had been above all those feelings, which, paltry and erroneous as moralists justly call them, the historian and the philosopher must admit to be implanted and folded up in the innermost recesses of the human heart. Indeed Lord Waldegrave has too much good sense to pretend to any such exemption from human infirmity—he honestly says,

‘I will advance no facts which are not strictly true, and do not mean to misrepresent any man; but will make no professions of impartiality, because I take it for granted that it is not in my power to be quite unprejudiced.’—p. 3.

We shall begin by selecting some of the most prominent of these portraits, not only because they are more capable of being extracted, but because they are in fact the most interesting part of the work, remarkable on account of the persons they delineate, and curious by the ability and opportunities which the painter possessed (with the drawback we have just alluded to) of producing accurate likenesses.

His character of his friend and master George the Second may perhaps be suspected of somewhat of a tinge, the reverse of that which is thrown over the princess-dowager; but it is ably drawn, and will mainly serve to do the worthy monarch justice, and to rescue him from the wanton ridicule of some contemporary writers.

‘The King is in his 75th year; but temperance and an excellent constitution have hitherto preserved him from many of the infirmities of old age.

‘He has a good understanding, though not of the first class; and has a clear insight into men and things, within a certain compass.

‘He is accused by his ministers of being hasty and passionate when any measure is proposed which he does not approve of; though, within the compass of my own observation, I have known few persons of high rank who could bear contradiction better, provided the intention was apparently good, and the manner decent.

' When any thing disagreeable passes in the closet, when any of his ministers happen to displease him, it cannot long remain a secret; for his countenance can never dissemble: but to those servants who attend his person, and do not disturb him with frequent solicitations, he is ever gracious and affable.

' Even in the early part of life he was fond of business; at present, it is become almost his only amusement.

' He has more knowledge of foreign affairs than most of his ministers, and has good general notions of the constitution, strength, and interest of this country: but being past thirty when the Hanover succession took place, and having since experienced the violence of party, the injustice of popular clamour, the corruption of parliaments, and the selfish motives of pretended patriots, it is not surprising that he should have contracted some prejudices in favour of those governments where the royal authority is under less restraint.

' Yet prudence has so far prevailed over these prejudices, that they have never influenced his conduct. On the contrary, many laws have been enacted in favour of public liberty; and in the course of a long reign, there has not been a single attempt to extend the prerogative of the crown beyond its proper limits.

' He has as much personal bravery as any man, though his political courage seems somewhat problematical: however, it is a fault on the right side; for had he always been as firm and undaunted in the closet as he shewed himself at Oudenarde and Dettingen, he might not have proved quite so good a king in this limited monarchy.

' In the drawing-room, he is gracious and polite to the ladies, and remarkably cheerful and familiar with those who are handsome, or with the few of his old acquaintance who were beauties in his younger days.

' His conversation is very proper for a tête-à-tête: he then talks freely on most subjects, and very much to the purpose; but he cannot discourse with the same ease, nor has he the faculty of laying aside the king in a larger company; not even in those parties of pleasure which are composed of his most intimate acquaintance.

' His servants are never disturbed with any unnecessary waiting; for he is regular in all his motions to the greatest exactness, except on particular occasions, when he outruns his own orders, and expects those who are to attend him before the time of his appointment. This may easily be accounted for: he has a restless mind, which requires constant exercise; his affairs are not sufficient to fill up the day; his amusements are without variety, and have lost their relish; he becomes fretful and uneasy, merely for want of employment; and presses forward to meet the succeeding hour before it arrives.

' Too great attention to money seems to be his capital failing; however, he is always just, and sometimes charitable, though seldom generous: but when we consider how rarely the liberality of princes is directed to the proper object, being usually bestowed on a rapacious mistress or an unworthy favourite, want of generosity, though it still continues a blot, ceases, at least, to be a vice of the first magnitude.

' Upon the whole, he has some qualities of a great prince, many of a good

good one, none which are essentially bad; and I am thoroughly convinced that hereafter, when time shall have wore away those specks and blemishes which sully the brightest characters, and from which no man is totally exempt, he will be numbered amongst those patriot kings, under whose government the people have enjoyed the greatest happiness.—p. 4—7.

The character of his late Majesty George III. must be read with a large share of those allowances which we have already stated.

‘The Prince of Wales is entering into his twenty-first year, and it would be unfair to decide upon his character in the early stages of life, when there is so much time for improvement.

‘His parts, though not excellent, will be found very tolerable, if ever they are properly exercised.

‘He is strictly honest, but wants that frank and open behaviour which makes honesty appear amiable.

‘When he had a very scanty allowance, it was one of his favourite maxims that men should be just before they are generous: his income is now very considerably augmented, but his generosity has not increased in equal proportion.

‘His religion is free from all hypocrisy, but is not of the most charitable sort; he has rather too much attention to the sins of his neighbour.

‘He has spirit, but not of the active kind; and does not want resolution, but it is mixed with too much obstinacy.

‘He has great command of his passions, and will seldom do wrong, except when he mistakes wrong for right; but as often as this shall happen, it will be difficult to undeceive him, because he is uncommonly indolent, and has strong prejudices.

‘His want of application and aversion to business would be far less dangerous, was he eager in the pursuit of pleasure; for the transition from pleasure to business is both shorter and easier than from a state of total inaction.

‘He has a kind of unhappiness in his temper, which, if it be not conquered before it has taken too deep a root, will be a source of frequent anxiety. Whenever he is displeased, his anger does not break out with heat and violence; but he becomes sullen and silent, and retires to his closet; not to compose his mind by study or contemplation, but merely to indulge the melancholy enjoyment of his own ill-humour. Even when the fit is ended, unfavourable symptoms very frequently return, which indicate that on certain occasions his Royal Highness has too correct a memory.

‘Though I have mentioned his good and bad qualities, without flattery, and without aggravation, allowances should still be made, on account of his youth, and his bad education: for though the Bishop of Peterborough, now Bishop of Salisbury, the preceptor; Mr. Stone, the sub-governor; and Mr. Scott, the sub-preceptor, were men of sense, men of learning, and worthy, good men, they had but little weight and influence. The mother and the nursery always prevailed.

‘During



'During the course of the last year, there has, indeed, been some alteration; the authority of the nursery has gradually declined, and the Earl of Bute, by the assistance of the mother, has now the entire confidence. But whether this change will be greatly to his Royal Highness's advantage, is a nice question, which cannot hitherto be determined with any certainty.'—pp. 8—10.

The justice of some traits of this picture has been proved by experience, and some of the solid and most valuable parts of his late Majesty's character will be traced in the foregoing sketch; but it is evident that, besides the latent *prejudice against the prince on political grounds*, there is somewhat of the short-sightedness of the governor in one or two particulars.

The *uncommon indolence*, or want of application, of boys has been a subject of grave and well-founded complaints with pedagogues in all ages and countries; but we are not quite sure that, even in this particular, his lordship did not a little mistake the character of his pupil:—the prince was remarkably sedate and reserved even when a boy, and had a very early sense of the dignity of his station, and of the restraint which it became him to impose upon himself: other young men, from fifteen to eighteen years of age, have amusements and pursuits of a nature from which the prince's judgment, solid beyond his years, restrained him; and this strict guard over his conduct, in so young a man, naturally gave him an appearance of inactivity, which his subsequent life fully and completely contradicted.

To the same source may be attributed that *sullenness* which Lord Waldegrave notices;—heats of passion, which his lordship might have thought pardonable, did not seem so to the proud and kingly spirit which he had to govern, but which it is to be feared he did not understand; and when the high-minded youth retired to his closet to enjoy, as the governor supposed, his own ill-humour, he probably felt that he was practising the virtue of a stoic, and that he retired from the presence of those who had offended him—(not to indulge in ill-humour, but)—in order to avoid expressing it in a manner which he thought unbecoming.

If, however, to this portrait we add some touches from two sketches made also in his youth, we shall probably arrive at a fair estimate of the early character of George the Third; and his early character was one which, we may almost without qualification say, no action of his subsequent life ever belied. A wonderful precocity in youth and a no less wonderful consistency in age!

Dodington tells us that in more than one interview with the princess-dowager, she gave him the following account of her son:

'I then took the liberty to ask her, what she thought the real disposition of the prince to be?—She said, that I knew him almost as well

as she did ; that he was very honest, but she wished that he was a little more forward, and less childish, at his age.

'She repeated that he was a very honest boy, and that his chief passion seemed to be for his brother Edward—that he was not a wild, dissipated boy, but good-natured and cheerful, with a serious cast upon the whole—that *those about him knew him no more than if they had never seen him*. That he was not quick, but, with those he was acquainted, applicable and intelligent.'—*Dodington's Diary*, p. 171. 173. 356.

Let us observe that Lord Waldegrave himself was at this period one of 'those about him,' and that he seems indeed not to have known as much of his character and disposition as might have been expected.

Lady Hervey too, who must have had good opportunities of knowing the disposition of the young prince, thus speaks of him in one of her lately published letters:—

'Every one, I think, seems to be pleased with the whole behaviour of our young king : and indeed so much unaffected good nature and propriety appears in all he does or says, that it cannot but endear him to all ; but whether any thing can long endear a king or an angel in this strange factious country, I can't tell. I have the best opinion imaginable of him, not from any thing he does or says just now, but because I have a moral certainty that he was in his nursery the *honestest, truest, most good-natured* child that ever lived ; and you know my old maxim, that qualities never change ; what the child was, the man most certainly is, in spite of temporary appearances.'—*Lady Hervey's Letters*, pp. 271, 272.

Our readers would not forgive us if we did not lay before them the portrait of that extraordinary person the Duke of Newcastle, who ruled so long the destinies of our country—a man of whose pictures it may be truly said that the more they seem to approach to *caricature* the more accurately like they are.

'The Duke of Newcastle is in his thirty-fifth year of ministerial longevity ; has been much abused, much flattered, and still more ridiculed.

'From the year 1724 to the year 42 he was Secretary of State, acting under Sir Robert Walpole : he continued in the same station during Lord Granville's short administration : but Granville, who had the parts and knowledge, yet had not, at all times, the discretion of an able minister, treated him with too much contempt ; especially as he wanted his assistance in the House of Commons, where he had little interest of his own.

'After Granville's defeat, the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham became joint ministers : here he seems to have reached the highest degree of power where he can reasonably hope to maintain himself.

'Ambition, fear, and jealousy, are his prevailing passions.

'In the midst of prosperity and apparent happiness, the slightest dis-  
appointment

appointment or any imaginary evil, will, in a moment, make him miserable: his mind can never be composed; his spirits are always agitated. Yet this constant ferment, which would wear out and destroy any other man, is perfectly agreeable to his constitution: he is at the very perfection of health, when his fever is at the greatest height.

‘His character is full of inconsistencies; the man would be thought very singular who differed as much from the rest of the world as he differs from himself.

‘If we consider how many years he has continued in the highest employments; that he has acted a very considerable part amongst the most considerable persons of his own time; that, when his friends have been routed, he has still maintained his ground; that he has incurred his Majesty’s displeasure on various occasions, but has always carried his point, and has soon been restored both to favour and confidence; it cannot be denied that he possesses some qualities of an able minister. Yet view him in a different light, and our veneration will be somewhat abated. Talk with him concerning public or private business, of a nice or delicate nature, he will be found confused, irresolute, continually rambling from the subject, contradicting himself almost every instant.

‘Hear him speak in parliament, his manner is ungraceful, his language barbarous, his reasoning inconclusive. At the same time, he labours through all the confusion of a debate without the least distrust of his own abilities; fights boldly in the dark; never gives up the cause; nor is he ever at a loss either for words or argument.

‘His professions and promises are not to be depended on, though, at the time they are made, he often means to perform them; but is unwilling to displease any man by a plain negative, and frequently does not recollect that he is under the same engagements to at least ten competitors.

‘If he cannot be esteemed a steady friend, he has never shown himself a bitter enemy; and his forgiveness of injuries proceeds as much from good nature as it does from policy.

‘Pride is not to be numbered amongst his faults; on the contrary, he deviates into the opposite extreme, and courts popularity with such extravagant eagerness, that he frequently descends to an undistinguishing and illiberal familiarity.

‘Neither can he be accused of avarice, or of rapaciousness; for though he will give bribes, he is above accepting them; and instead of having enriched himself at the expense of his master, or of the public, he has greatly impaired a very considerable estate by electioneering, and keeping up a good parliamentary interest, which is commonly, though perhaps improperly, called the service of the crown.

‘His extraordinary care of his health is a jest even amongst his flatterers. As to his jealousy, it could not be carried to a higher pitch, if every political friend was a favourite mistress.

‘He is in his sixty-fourth or sixty-fifth year, yet thirsts for power in a future reign with the greatest solicitude; and hereafter, should he live

live to see a Prince of Wales, of a year old, he will still look forward, not without expectation that in due course of time he may be his minister also.'—pp. 10—14.

We pass over, for the moment, the character of Mr. Pitt (Lord Chatham), and shall collect some sketches of Mr. Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, of whom Lord Waldegrave gives an account somewhat less unfavourable than the other writers of the day.

'Fox had also many personal friends, and more political followers; being looked upon as the rising minister in the House of Commons, in case either of Mr. Pelham's death, resignation, or removal to the House of Peers.

'He had, moreover, the support of the Duke of Cumberland, and the distribution of military preferment; which added greatly to his strength, by furnishing the means of gratifying his dependents.

'At the same time, though Fox derived these advantages from his attachment to the duke, the prejudice might, upon the whole, be still greater than the benefit.

'Fox had also his share of calumny, being represented as a man of arbitrary principles, educated in the school of corruption; a proper minister to overturn the constitution, and introduce a military government.

'Few men have been more unpopular; yet when I have asked his bitterest enemies what crimes they could allege against him, they always confined themselves to general accusation; that he was avaricious, encouraged jobs, had profligate friends, and dangerous connections; but never could produce a particular fact of any weight or consequence.

'His warmth or impetuosity of temper led him into two very capital mistakes; he wantonly offended the Chancellor by personal reflections or ridicule in the affair of the Marriage Act: he also increased the number of his enemies by discovering an eagerness to be the minister, whilst Mr. Pelham was still alive: many of whose friends might possibly have attached themselves to him, if, instead of snatching at the succession, he had coolly waited till it had been delivered into his hands.

'He has great parliamentary knowledge, but is rather an able debater than a complete orator; his best speeches are neither long nor premeditated; quick and concise replication is his peculiar excellence.

'In business he is clear and communicative; frank and agreeable in society; and though he can pay his court on particular occasions, he has too much pride to flatter an enemy, or even a friend, where it is not necessary.

'Upon the whole, he has some faults, but more good qualities; is a man of sense and judgment, notwithstanding some indiscretion; and with small allowances for ambition, party, and politics, is a warm friend, a man of veracity, and a man of honour.'—p. 21, 22, 24, 25.

This character deserves, perhaps, the praise of impartiality, for it is not very complimentary, and Mr. Fox appears to have been the private as well as the political friend of Lord Waldegrave. It was  
his

his lordship who negotiated Mr. Fox's appointment to be Secretary of state and of the cabinet in 1755; (p. 34.) and we have already seen that in Mr. Fox's favour Lord Waldegrave even condescended to be the tale-bearer of what passed at Leicester House.

Before we proceed to the historical part of this work, we must make one observation which has no doubt struck every reader of the history of the latter years of George the Second, but which is no where more likely to occur than in a perusal of these Memoirs.

So completely was the court and the parliament divided by factions, *not* parties, and so entirely were intrigues for power, and *not* principles of public policy, the motives of statesmen, that this weak and ambitious Duke of Newcastle thought he strengthened his government, by having men of the rank and talents of Pitt and Fox in such subordinate offices as Paymaster and Secretary at War; and it was no uncommon thing to see these eminent persons, who ought to have been the leaders of the House of Commons, opposing their own colleagues, and creating, often openly, more often underhand, an opposition to the measures of a government, of which they were nominally members. Nor were they singular in this practice: their own subordinates, Legge and Lyttelton, Halifax and Dodington, all imitated their examples, and betrayed their friends, or coalesced with their enemies with the most impudent indifference, and—as Dodington himself so emphatically expresses it, when talking of Legge—*tout pour la tripe*, 'all for quarter day.'

Lord Waldegrave seems, indeed, inclined to charge the intrigues of Leicester House (his *bête d'aversion*) with the blame of all the ministerial change and confusion which he records. We, on the contrary, think we see other and very different elements of discord. With the Duke of Newcastle leading the House of Lords, and Sir Thomas Robinson the House of Commons—while Pitt and Fox were not merely subordinate, but suspected—it is surely not surprising to find the government a prey to intestine dissensions.

At last, in the year 1755, 'the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwick, foreseeing the confusion which was likely to arise from the state of our affairs at home, as well as abroad, obtained his Majesty's leave to strengthen themselves in their ministerial capacity, by forming new alliances'—and to whom, will the reader believe that they applied for assistance?—to Mr. Pitt! *Their own Paymaster*—their own *colleague* was to be a *new alliance*; and why, will the reader again believe that this hopeful negotiation failed?—because Mr. Pitt insisted on being Secretary of State. 'Neither was it his intention to be a secretary merely to write letters according to order, or to talk in parliament like a lawyer from a brief; but to be really a minister.'—p. 44.

Pretensions so outrageous the Duke of Newcastle could not entertain,

tain, and 'Fox, in his turn, must be treated with : ' Fox, *their own Secretary at War*, was to be bought over, and to constitute a *new alliance*. Fox made nearly the same demands as Pitt ; but as he was the less able, and therefore the less formidable associate, he was accepted ; and after much demur on the part of the king, and much tremulous hesitation on the part of the Duke of Newcastle, so far succeeded as to be made Secretary of State. Mr. Pitt was turned out, and carried his small party with him, except Sir George Lyttelton, who remained with the administration, and took the place of Chancellor of the Exchequer, vacated by his friend Legge.

But the administration thus formed received a blow in the capture of Mahon, and the failure of Admiral Byng, which not even the accession of Mr. Fox's talents could compensate ; besides, it appears, from the concurrent testimony of Dodington and Lord Waldegrave, that while Newcastle submitted to Fox's demand of being Secretary, he carefully avoided granting the annexed condition,—that the Secretary should be a real efficient minister.

'The powers gave ear, and granted half his prayer ;  
The rest *the Duke* dispersed in empty air.'

'In a word, Fox thought himself ill used both by king and minister ; he also foresaw that the loss of Minorca must add strength to the opposition, the nation being now on their side : moreover if any *personal attack* was made against him, that he should be weakly supported : he therefore thought it prudent to avoid the storm ; asked an audience of the king, entered into a short detail of his grievances ; and obtained his Majesty's permission to resign his employment.

'This resignation was nowise pleasing to the Duke of Newcastle, who meant that Fox should have continued in a responsible office ; with a double portion of danger and abuse, but without any share of power.'—p. 82.

Here we must observe some discrepancy between Lord Waldegrave's and Dodington's account of Mr. Fox's resignation, which, as Lord Waldegrave tells the story, was the *cause*, but, as Dodington states, was rather the *consequence* of the dissolution of the Duke of Newcastle's government.

Lord Waldegrave and Dodington concur in representing Fox as dismayed at the state of public affairs, and even *personally alarmed* by the untoward events in the Mediterranean ; but the former states, that when he resigned, the Duke of Newcastle still continued minister, and knocked at every political door for assistance to supply Fox's place, and to enable him to resist his approaching opposition ;—that he applied to Pitt, 'who would listen to no terms, and absolutely refused to treat ;' (p. 83.)—to Lord Egmont, 'who refused to engage unless he was removed to the Upper House, which was directly contrary to his Grace's purposes ; the  
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House of Commons being the only place where he wanted assistance: (p. 84.)—that he next tried to exchange employments with Lord Granville, the President of the Council, but Granville refused,—and ‘at last, when every proposal had been rejected, when no man would stand in the gap, the Duke of Newcastle unwillingly resigned his employment, which he had not courage to hold.’—p. 84.

On the other hand, Dodington states that on the 19th October Mr. Pitt was sent for to town, and he came, but he returned, rejecting all terms till the *Duke of Newcastle* was removed; on the 27th the king sent for Fox, and told him that the Duke of Newcastle *would resign* and bade him think of an administration. Fox on this made overtures to Pitt; but Pitt declined to meet him or indeed to treat with him at all. The Duke of Devonshire, who was now designated as the new First Lord of the Treasury, went down on the 31st to Mr. Pitt to endeavour to induce him to retract the positive exclusion he gave Fox, but in vain—although the duke was anxious to have had Fox as his Chancellor of the Exchequer. On the 11th November the Duke of Newcastle resigned, as did Mr. Fox on the following day.

It is now of little importance whether Lord Waldegrave or Dodington is the most accurate; but it must be observed, that Dodington writes a journal from day to day and is particular in all his dates, and that Lord Waldegrave gives no date, and that therefore his representation of the order of events—and in political negotiations the order of events is very important—is probably not so correct as Dodington's: besides, Lord Waldegrave may be suspected of favouring, by a discreet silence, the character of Fox—he describes him as resigning at once and without hesitation or intrigue, and alludes to the subsequent negotiation as an alternative to which the king and Duke of Devonshire were driven by the unreasonableness of Pitt's demands; while Dodington exhibits Fox as holding on to the last,—as anxious to coalesce with his proud rival,—and as ready to separate from his late colleague to act under his successor. The mere facts perhaps do not greatly differ in the two accounts, but Lord Waldegrave places, we think, Mr. Fox's conduct on higher ground than it seems to deserve. The real state of the case probably was, that Fox's precipitate retreat broke up the government, and that he continued till the very last moment his intrigues and efforts to obtain his share in the new administration.

The result of all, however, was that the king was obliged reluctantly to submit to Pitt's demands, and that a new administration was formed, composed in a considerable measure of his friends; but what seems a very extraordinary circumstance, and promising no great cordiality in the new government, Fox and the

Duke



Duke of Newcastle left as many friends behind them in important offices as the new ministers brought in. The King seems to have been infatuated towards the Duke and his party, and to have hated and dreaded, not equally, but in proportion to Newcastle's feeling towards them, both Pitt and Fox. He had admitted Mr. Fox reluctantly; but Mr. Pitt took the cabinet by storm: and this administration was no sooner formed than the King appears to have made no secret that it was distasteful to him. His Majesty's first public difference with them was on the subject of Admiral Byng: we never had any doubt of the justice and the policy of executing that unhappy officer, which were only brought into question by the bungling temporizing of the court-martial itself, who, with gross *moral cowardice*, endeavoured to do away the effect of a sentence which they had passed unanimously, and to the justice of which they, after all the efforts of compassion, of friendship and of faction, ultimately adhered: but we own that we are not a little disgusted to find that his fate was decided in the King's closet, not on grounds either of public justice or royal mercy, but as a weapon which the King and his ministers were endeavouring to use against each other. We cannot think that Lord Waldegrave does his royal friend much credit by the following account of the transaction; but he undoubtedly marks, with deep criminality, the conduct of the ministers, as well for the motives which made them wish to save, as for those on which they finally abandoned the wretched admiral.

'Their mutual dissatisfaction was soon increased by the affair of Admiral Byng, who had been condemned by a court-martial, but at the same time had been strongly recommended to his Majesty's mercy.

'The popular cry was violent against the admiral; but Pitt and Lord Temple were desirous to save him: partly to please Leicester House, and partly because making him less criminal, would throw greater blame on the late administration.

'But, to avoid the odium of protecting a man who had been hanged in effigy in every town in England, they wanted the King to pardon him without their seeming to interfere; agreeable to the practice of most ministers, who take all merit to themselves when measures are approved of, and load their master with those acts of prerogative which are most unpopular.

'His Majesty however, not chusing to be their dupe, obliged them to pull off the mask; and the sentence against the admiral was not carried into execution, till, by their behaviour in parliament, they had given public proof of their partiality.'—p. 91.

Lord Waldegrave then proceeds to state that the King soon resolved to get rid of his ministers, and this leads him to an account of another negociation in which he had himself to play a principal, though, as the matter has been hitherto a secret, not a very conspicuous part.

When Lord Waldegrave left the prince's service he had been granted the reversion of a Tellership of the Exchequer which, in less than two months, devolved upon him by the death of Lord Walpole—on this occasion he waited on the King to return thanks for the favour which had been thus unexpectedly fulfilled.

'He received me very graciously; told me how glad he was that he had granted the reversion at the right time, for that at present it would not have been in his power. He moreover insisted that I should continue Warden of the Stannaries some time longer, if it were only to exclude some impertinent relation of the new minister.

'He then expressed his dislike to Pitt and Lord Temple in very strong terms; the substance of which was, that the secretary made him long speeches, which possibly might be very fine, but were greatly beyond his comprehension; and that his letters were affected, formal, and pedantic.

'That as to Temple, he was so disagreeable a fellow, there was no bearing him; that when he attempted to argue, he was pert, and sometimes insolent; that when he meant to be civil, he was exceeding troublesome, and that in the business of his office he was totally ignorant.'—p. 94.

These reasons, except the last, were certainly not enough to justify his Majesty's determination to change his servants, and savour more of personal aversion and petty spleen than Lord Waldegrave seems to suspect. The King, however, soon adverted to the Duke of Newcastle, and Lord Waldegrave was employed to sound his Grace.

"I know he is apt," said the king, "to be afraid, therefore go and encourage him; tell him I do not look upon myself as king, whilst I am in the hands of these scoundrels: that I am determined to get rid of them at any rate; that I expect his assistance, and that he may depend on my favour and protection."—p. 96.

The duke, however, was, in Lord Waldegrave's opinion, too timid to undertake what he most ardently desired. 'I had found his Grace' (he says) 'just as I expected; eager and impatient to come into power, but dreading the danger with which it must be accompanied.'—p. 96. Lord Waldegrave (completely duped, as we think, by Newcastle as to the cause of his refusal) was unable to bring about the desired arrangement; and at last the King, impatient to be relieved from servants who were personally odious to him, applied to Fox, who so far succeeded as to have some promise and prospect of support; and on these slender hopes, the first blow was struck about the end of March by dismissing Lord Temple from the Admiralty and replacing him by Lord Winchilsea, one, if we may venture to use the expression, of the conspirators.

It was imagined that, on this occasion, Mr. Pitt would immediately have resigned, but he did not choose to save his enemies  
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any trouble, and he attended the duties of his offices with calm dignity and even paid his respects at court with more than usual assiduity till, in about a week after Lord Temple's dismissal, the King, finding that he would not go, was obliged to turn him out.

Lord Waldegrave was now charged with a new commission, being ordered to notify to Sir T. Robinson that the King meant him for secretary of state, and to Lord Duplin that he was designed for chancellor of the exchequer; but they both (secretly influenced no doubt by Newcastle) declined, and the King had now no other resource but to give that Duke carte blanche to form a government, but on conditions, which the King hoped might exclude Pitt, and under a promise from Newcastle, that if Pitt should be unreasonable, he, Newcastle, would go on without him.—Pitt, however, would not accept the terms, and

‘In consequence of this disagreement, another plan of administration was immediately formed, whereby Pitt and his adherents were to be totally excluded: the Duke of Newcastle to be at the head of the treasury; Sir George Lee to be his Chancellor of the Exchequer.’—p. 109.

But the Duke, unmindful of his promise to go on without Pitt, now refused to redeem his pledge, and Pitt, by the intervention of Leicester-House and the mediation of Lord Chesterfield, became all of a sudden more tractable. In consequence of these mutual concessions, the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwicke had several conferences with Mr. Pitt and Lord Bute.

‘Articles of peace and amity were at last agreed upon; and a plan of administration was prepared, which was carried to Kensington to receive the royal assent, without having given the least notice, to Sir George Lee, or to any of those gentlemen, who a few days before had entered into engagements with the Duke of Newcastle, and were waiting in their best cloaths, in hourly expectation of being sent for to court, to kiss his Majesty’s hand.’—p. 112, 113.

But though the Duke was so ready to abandon his engagements, he found the King not quite so plastic—his Majesty refused to admit Lord Temple, or to displace Lord Winchelsea; and now occurs the only point upon which Lord Waldegrave’s account of the transaction gives any absolutely new light. The King, on the emergency of his distress, pressed Lord Waldegrave to accept *himself* the place of first minister and to form a government. One cannot but here pause to remark into what straits his Majesty had suffered himself to be driven by his uncandid conduct towards his late servants, when he was reduced to the necessity of forcing the office of prime minister upon a nobleman unknown to public life, incapable of public speaking, and unacquainted with public business. But the project might, perhaps, have had at least a temporary success,

had not Lord Holderness, secretary of state, upon whom the King reckoned, suddenly (and, as regarded his Majesty, most ungratefully) thrown up his employment, and thus multiplied the difficulties. This was undoubtedly (as there is now good reason to think most of the preceding difficulties had been) a manœuvre of the Duke of Newcastle's; for though his Grace in the most solemn manner denied that he had any share in it, he sillily and shamelessly contradicted his own assertion in the course of the very conversation in which he had advanced it.

Notwithstanding this untoward event, Lord Waldegrave and the Dukes of Devonshire and Bedford, Earls Granville, Winchelsea, Gower, and Mr. Fox continued for some time their endeavours, rather than their expectations, of forming a government, to the exclusion of Pitt and Temple, and without the *present aid* of the Duke of Newcastle. The king seeing, however, that this would not succeed, put the negociation into Lord Mansfield's hands, who was to treat with the Duke and Mr. Pitt on the terms of excluding Temple, and including Fox; but Lord Mansfield's success was no greater than that of his predecessors, and the credentials were at last transferred to the Duke of Newcastle's old and firm friend Lord Hardwicke, and *then*—

'At last the treaty was concluded, the substance of which was, that the Duke of Newcastle should be first Commissioner of the Treasury, without one man at the board who really belonged to him; and Legge was to be once more his Chancellor of the Exchequer. Pitt was to be again Secretary of State: Lord Temple to be Privy Seal, in the room of Lord Gower, who was to be Master of the Horse, in the room of the Duke of Dorset; who was to have a large pension, under the name of additional salary, annexed to his place of Warden of the Cinque Ports.

'Pratt was to be made Attorney-general, in the room of Sir Robert Henley; who was made Lord Keeper, with a pension, and a good reversion for his son.

'Fox was to be paymaster; and Potter, who formerly held half that office, was to be made one of the Vice Treasurers of Ireland, in the room of the Earl of Cholmondeley, who was also to have a very considerable pension on the Irish establishment.

'But the most surprising phenomenon was Lord Anson returning to his old employment, in spite of his unpopularity, and of all the abuse which had been raised against him by the very men who were now to be his associates, either at the cabinet council or at the board of admiralty.—pp. 134, 135.

Lord Waldegrave himself was kindly remembered by the King, and honoured with the Garter; and so ended one of the most extraordinary and chaotic negotiations, or rather struggles, which ever occurred between contending statesmen. To us the '*mot de l'énigme*'

*l'énigme* seems clear enough: the Duke of Newcastle's talents for shuffling and intrigue were never doubted; and if, on any occasion, the old law adage—*scelus fecit, cui prodest*—be applicable, it is in such transactions as those we have been alluding to. His Grace had sagacity enough to discover that his unpopular administration could not continue, and rather than lose power altogether, he was obliged, reluctantly we have no doubt, to consent to share it with Pitt; but finding the King resolved against this, his Grace had no other mode of bringing his Majesty into his terms than by letting him *try* to make other arrangements, all of which the Duke took care to defeat. If the *end* could justify the *means*, something might be said for Newcastle; for the king's antipathy to Mr. Pitt was unreasonable, and his conduct towards him almost unconstitutional; and considering the weight, the influence, the popularity, and the habitual success of Pitt, Newcastle was, in fact, doing a public service in forcing him into the councils of the country. We readily acquit the Duke of any such enlarged view, or any such patriotic intention; we believe he acted solely on his own little feelings of personal interests; but, it must be confessed, that an arrangement which restored cordiality between the monarch and the heir apparent, and which invigorated the councils of the country by the energies and good fortune of the *great* Lord Chatham, was one which, however brought about, was happy for the nation.

But though Mr. Pitt had great talents and great claims on public confidence, it would be unjust to conceal that the King and his personal friends and advisers looked upon him as a factious and dangerous demagogue, in whose hands the continental interests of England would be desperate, and the monarchical constitution hardly secure. The old King had not yet fully discovered that the hottest patriot sometimes makes the most accommodating minister—he little hoped that Mr. Pitt would become the champion of foreign alliances, and thunder in the ears of his astonished and subdued auditors that Hanover ought to be as dear as Hampshire. Our last extract from Lord Waldegrave shall be his character of this extraordinary man.

‘Mr. Pitt has the finest genius, improved by study and all the ornamental part of classical learning.

‘He came early into the House of Commons, where he soon distinguished himself; lost a cornetcy of horse, which was then his only subsistence; and in less than twenty years has raised himself to be first minister, and the most powerful subject in this country.

‘He has a peculiar clearness and facility of expression; and has an eye as significant as his words. He is not always a fair or conclusive reasoner, but commands the passions with sovereign authority; and to inflame or captivate a popular assembly is a consummate orator. He has courage of every sort, cool or impetuous, active or deliberate.

'At present he is the guide and champion of the people : whether he will long continue their friend seems somewhat doubtful. But if we may judge from his natural disposition, as it has hitherto shown itself, his popularity and zeal for public liberty will have the same period ; for he is imperious, violent, and implacable ; impatient even of the slightest contradiction ; and, under the mask of patriotism, has the despotic spirit of a tyrant.

'However, though his political sins are black and dangerous, his private character is irreproachable ; he is incapable of a treacherous or ungenerous action ; and in the common offices of life is justly esteemed a man of veracity and a man of honour.

'He mixes little in company, confining his society to a small juncture of his relations, with a few obsequious friends, who consult him as an oracle, admire his superior understanding, and never presume to have an opinion of their own.

'This separation from the world is not entirely owing to pride, or an unsociable temper ; as it proceeds partly from bad health and a weak constitution. But he may find it an impassable barrier in the road of ambition ; for though the mob can sometimes raise a minister, he must be supported by persons of higher rank, who may be mean enough in some particulars, yet will not be the patient followers of any man who despises their homage and avoids their solicitations.

'Besides, it is a common observation, that men of plain sense and cool resolution have more useful talents, and are better qualified for public business, than the man of the finest parts, who wants temper, judgment, and knowledge of mankind. Even parliamentary abilities may be too highly rated ; for between the man of eloquence and the sagacious statesman there is a wide interval.

'However, if Mr. Pitt should maintain his power a few years, observation and experience may correct many faults, and supply many deficiencies : in the mean time, even his enemies must allow that he has the firmness and activity of a great minister ; that he has hitherto conducted the war with spirit, vigour, and tolerable success ; and though some favourite schemes may have been visionary and impracticable, they have at least been more honourable and less dangerous than the passive, unperforming pusillanimity of the late administration.'—p. 15—17.

One not unimportant fact we must add upon the subject of the negotiations we have been describing : 'Dodington was'—says Lord Waldegrave in the commencement of the affair—'the *only person ready to engage* ;' and Dodington tells us that on the final arrangement he was the *only one excluded*. And we shall terminate our observations on this point with Dodington's summary of the whole affair.

'The King kept his word with Fox, and made him paymaster—but his Majesty was not pleased to behave so to me.

'Thus ended this attempt to deliver the King from hands he did not like, and it failed—from Lord Hallifax's duplicity, which drew a greater  
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affront upon him, than I ever remember offered to any body ;—from the Duke of Newcastle's treachery and ingratitude, who, after having given his word to the King, that he would never join Mr. Pitt, but by his Majesty's consent, forced the King to consent ;—and by his Majesty's timidity, who dared not to support any body, even in his own cause.'—*Dodington's Diary*, p. 397, 398.

In conclusion, we have little to add to what we said at the outset. The facts stated in the *Memoirs* are not new, with the exception of Lord Waldegrave's own attempt to form a ministry, of which, strange to say, we find no trace in *Dodington* nor any other contemporary, and which, after all, was an incidental intrigue of no importance ; but though the facts were pretty well known, they are related with greater detail—with a more extensive knowledge of all the parts of the transaction, and with a juster appreciation of the characters of the several persons and parties than any other writer has had either the opportunity to collect or the ability to convey. With the abatement of his prejudice against Leicester-House and Mr. Pitt, and a little partiality towards Kensington and Mr. Fox, his lordship is not merely a candid but an enlightened historian—his facts are accurate—his feelings good—and his principles honourable ; as a literary man, his work is entitled to all the praise of which such a work is susceptible ; his style is unaffected and polite—always clear, often forcible, and sometimes lively ; and if his lordship had taken the trifling trouble of *dating* the proceedings as he went along, we should have been inclined to say, that his *Memoirs* were the best we had ever read, and to have proposed them, as far as our opinion would have any weight, as a model of this species of writing.

The Editor, who is understood to be Lord Holland, has introduced the work by a biographical and critical preface, written with so much taste and good sense that we rather regret that he has not explained the text here and there by a few notes written in the same style and spirit—they would have been a valuable addition to the work :—he has also enriched it with the addition of three or four extremely entertaining letters from Mr. Fox to Lord Hartington and Mr. Ellis—they are at least as amusing as the *Memoirs* themselves, and much more valuable. We cannot but hope that the care which has preserved them, may have preserved others of the same kind ;—and perhaps the great taste which the world has of late shown for works of this class may lead to the publication of more of the original letters of Mr. Fox.

This leads us to make an observation or two on the price of this book. It is a thin 4to. of 176 pages, and contains not more letter-press than might fill about fifty pages of our *Review*, and therefore, although the paper and type are very splendid, the price of twenty-



five shillings charged for it may appear enormous, and so we confess it seemed to us till we heard of the enormous sum given for the copyright. These *Memoirs* do so much honour to Lord Waldegrave, that his friends, we should have thought, might for that reason alone, have favoured us with the publication; but, as that was not the case, and as we are afraid that, after all, large prices will be found the surest stimulant to valuable publications, we cannot complain that the bookseller, like any other tradesman, rates his ware by what it costs him; and we are rather, in regard to the general interests of literature, inclined to applaud the liberality and spirit which have of late years—and never more than at this moment—distinguished the English booksellers.

A practical proof of the effect of this liberality has just reached us.—We understand that the sum so liberally given for Lord Waldegrave's *Memoirs* has awakened out of the dust of the family scrutoirs, 'Memoirs of his own Time by Horace Walpole,' that Mr. Murray has purchased them at a magnificent price, and that they are in the press, and will shortly be given to the world.—We confess we expect *Memoirs* from Horace Walpole with much impatience.

ART. V. *Narrative of the Chinese Embassy to the Khan of the Tourgouth Tartars, in the years 1712, 13, 14, and 15; by the Chinese Ambassador, and published by the Emperor's authority, at Peking. Translated from the Chinese, and accompanied by an Appendix of Miscellaneous Translations.* By Sir George Thomas Staunton, Bart. LL.D. and F. R. S. London. 1821.

CHINA swallows up about one-tenth part of the habitable globe; and contains, at the lowest estimation, one-fourth of the population of the whole earth. Yet,—so we get our tea comfortably for breakfast, we seem to trouble our heads as little about the Chief of this vast empire and his two hundred millions of subjects, as he and they perhaps—do theirs, about us. We have not much to say of ourselves—but the Chinese, notwithstanding this mutual indifference, are a shrewd, an industrious, and an ingenious people, far superior to all other oriental nations, whether Pagan or Mahometan, however low we may be pleased to place them on our scale of civilization.

If we were asked in what the Chinese excel the rest of Asiatics, our reply would be, in every respect—in arts, manufactures, and agriculture; in civil polity, in literature and in morals.\* We do not make this assertion from vague report, but from personal knowledge, and indisputable facts and observations. Their im-

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mense population, for instance, is fed, clothed, and lodged, exclusively, from the produce of their own soil ; fed (and this is no slight degree of distinction) from tables, and seated on chairs ; clothed for the most part in cottons, and decently covered from head to foot ; and a twentieth part of their numbers, or about ten millions, splendidly habited in embroidered silks and satins. If to these, we join the moral obligation, (so extensively carried into practice, as to relieve the community from the public maintenance of paupers,) which compels the younger branches of a family to support their aged relations ; and the almost universal education, as far as reading and writing go, we may perhaps be induced to concede to the Chinese not only that superiority which we have claimed for them over the rest of the Asiatics ; but even to doubt whether they do not possess certain advantages, which some even of the more enlightened European nations cannot boast.

We are very far from being the panegyrists of the Chinese : their government we believe to be practically a bad one, and their religion worse ; the one, we think, renders them selfish and distrustful ; the other superstitious and hypocritical ; yet, unamiable as they certainly are, and cold and repulsive as they necessarily must be, where women are wholly excluded from society, we cannot help thinking that a darker shade has been cast over some parts of their character than they really deserve. We will even go a step farther, and add that, reflecting on the circumstances we have mentioned, of the truth of which there can be no doubt, we are disposed to fancy that a closer intimacy might incline us to entertain a somewhat more favourable opinion of them than we have hitherto ventured to avow. Unhappily, however, the nature of their internal policy, hostile to all international connections, and a language unlike any other on the face of the globe, forbid all hope of a more enlarged intercourse than that which at present subsists, and which, as every one knows, is limited to a single out-port, on the very skirts of this great empire, where a few commercial companies, like our own, are merely tolerated for the sake of facilitating an exchange of a few articles of luxury, for Nankins, Bohea and Congo.

In speaking of the government as a bad one, we mean the practical administration of it, by the subordinate officers : for the sovereign of China is very far from being a despot. It is, of course, impossible for us to penetrate into the arcana of the Chinese court ; but we shrewdly suspect, from all that we have seen and heard, that the ' Great Emperor ' is little more than a puppet in the hands of a few great officers, and that he enjoys, in fact, no more real power than was possessed by the successors of Darius, while they unconsciously promulgated, as their own, the  
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irrevocable decrees of the Seven Princes of Persia.—Be this as it may, the Emperor of China, good man, never appears in any other light than as a benevolent agent, always ready to palliate the crimes, to mitigate the punishments and alleviate the sufferings of his people. To them he frequently appeals; and, on all occasions of national calamity, publicly confesses his errors, and acknowledges his misconduct to be the cause of the divine displeasure. The natural consequence of this is an universal love and respect for the person, who, whatever his private character may be, is thus studiously exhibited to his subjects in an amiable point of view. Insurrections against his authority are partial and of rare occurrence; the disturbances that occasionally happen originate generally from a scarcity of provisions; they are mere rebellions of the belly, and are as speedily suppressed by a removal of the cause which produced them, as the slow movements of a cumbrous and invariable machine will admit. If we are to believe that human nature and human feelings are pretty nearly the same in all countries, modified only by education and habit, we must admit that a government, which, for three thousand years or more, has been able to keep together, under one bond of union, the largest mass of population which any nation on the face of the earth could ever boast—can hardly be considered as a bungling or fortuitous machine; but one rather that has within it certain corrective movements and self-protecting springs, by which its regulations are governed and its duration preserved.

In a letter now before us, from an ancient and most respectable missionary in China, the writer observes, in speaking of the quiet and peaceable succession of the new Emperor on the death of his father last year, 'Les Chinois n'ont pas à envier les lumières et les théories chimériques de vos réformateurs, libéraux, Radicaux, illuminés, jacobins et Carbonari, et autres démagogues d'Europe.' The good father is right: and dreadful indeed would be the aggregation of human misery, if any of these accursed pests of society should work their way amongst them, and succeed in unsettling the minds of two hundred millions of a peaceable and contented people.

Of the extreme desire manifested by the government that the sovereign should stand well with the people, the will of the late Emperor Kia-king and the proclamation on the accession of his son and successor *Taou-kuang* (both of which we have just received) are curious and convincing documents; we shall lay before our readers the substance of these state-papers, as they appeared in the *Pekin Gazette*. The Will of Kia-king is dated the 2d September, 1820, the day on which he died—suddenly, as it would seem,—and is, as usual, the composition of his ministers. It com-

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mences thus: 'The Great Emperor, who received from heaven and revolving nature the dominion of the world, hereby announces his last will and testament to the subjects of his empire:—He then enumerates the advantages which he derived from the three years instruction and advice of his venerable father, after he mounted the throne from which he had retired, and continues.

'I have considered that the stability of a nation, and the grand principles of social order consist in adoring heaven, imitating our ancestors, being active and diligent in all matters of government, and benevolent towards the people. I have borne in mind that heaven raises up princes for the sake of the people; and that the duty of affording to the people sustenance and instruction is imposed on *The One Man*.'

He then goes on to remind the people, among other things, how, in conformity with these principles, he suppressed insurrections and disturbances—that he issued from time to time large sums of money to repair the banks of the Yellow River, 'which from ancient days till now has always been the scourge of China'—that he had frequently remitted the taxes, and all arrears, in order to diffuse abundance and create in all ranks of his subjects a general joy—that while his heart was rejoicing in the universal plenty that the country was blessed with in consequence of an abundant harvest, he set out, in reverential obedience to the institutions of his ancestors, on a hunting excursion into Tartary, and that, to avoid the great heat, he stopped one day at a cottage on the mountain:—'and though,' continues he, 'I am advanced beyond the sixth decade of my life, and can mount and descend a hill without being fatigued, yet, on this occasion, the intense heat of the atmosphere affected me, so that yesterday, when I gave the whip to my horse in crossing the mountain of "Expanded Benevolence," I felt the phlegm rise in my throat even to suffocation, and had reason to apprehend that I had not long to live.\* However, in obedience to the rules of the departed sages of my family, I had already, in the fourth year of my reign, in the fourth month, on the tenth day, at five o'clock in the morning, previously appointed an heir to the throne; which appointment I myself sealed and locked up in a secret casket.'—This casket the great officers of state are commanded to open without delay:—they very well knew where to look for it.

A few days after the death of Kia-King, appeared the proclamation of his successor, in which the virtues of his late father are enumerated, and the extreme reluctance set forth with which his

\* If we may trust the information which we have received from Canton, this 'phlegm in the throat' was a hempen cord administered on the 'Benevolent' Mountain by his courtiers. He was accounted every way inferior to the four Tartar emperors who preceded him.

unworthy successor was compelled to yield to the general voice and to occupy the vacant throne. Next follows the *He-cha-ou*, or 'proclamation of joy,' in which he announces his intention of holding a solemn feast in honour of heaven and earth, and of the superintending deities of the land and its produce; and of conferring benefits on all ranks and descriptions of people. These marks of imperial beneficence are arranged under twenty-two different heads, and consist chiefly of gifts to the great officers of state—promotion of one step to all civil and military officers Tartars and Chinese—permission to officers below a certain rank to send one of their sons to an imperial college—restoration of officers who have been suspended from rank or pay, or both—a general amnesty to all criminals, except those convicted of rebellion or murder—and (adds the *He-cha-ou*) 'if any person shall again accuse those so pardoned for their former offences, the accuser shall be punished according to the crime alleged against the accused;' (the Chinese must surely have a wonderful propensity for bringing offenders to justice, to make a hint of this kind necessary);—remission of the public debts of officers in the army—increase of pensions to superannuated soldiers, &c. &c.

Such are the means employed at the commencement of a reign, and frequently repeated in the course of it—at least in the *Pekin Gazette*—to manifest to the people the paternal solicitude and unceasing benevolence of their sovereign.

To the late, and still more to the present Sir George Staunton, we are mainly indebted for that practical knowledge, confined as it certainly is, which we possess, of the manners and internal policy of this singular people;\* and the little volume now before us, affords a very considerable insight into the system of conducting the only external relations which they wish to hold, and the light in which they are desirous of appearing to their only civilized and powerful neighbours, the Russians. It also shows, by a few specimens of the lighter kinds of literary composition, and by several decrees and ordonnances of the government and internal police, their sentiments, feelings, and actions: nor is it deficient in interest as a literary curiosity, being, as far as we know, the only instance of a Chinese in the higher rank, recording his transactions, and describing foreign nations and manners, different in all respects from his own.

The principal part of the volume is occupied with a relation of the proceedings of an Embassy, sent in the year 1712, by *Kang-hi*, the wisest and the most energetic of the Tartar Emperors, whose race now fills the throne of China, to the Khan of the Tourgouths,

\* The translation of the *Ta-tsing-leu-lee*, or the Criminal Code of China, elucidates the real nature of the Chinese government, far better than all the commentaries of the Jesuits.

a considerable tribe of Eleuth or Calmuc Tartars, seated, at that period, on the banks of the Volga, a little to the northward of the Caspian. The narrative of this embassy is sufficiently authenticated by its publication, under the emperor's special authority, and by a copy of it being deposited in the imperial library in Peking. But we have a better test even than this of its authenticity, and also of the author's fidelity, in the comparison of his statements and notices on passing objects, with those of honest John Bell of Autermony, who traversed the very same ground just seven years afterwards; and it is not unworthy of remark that the two accounts, (notwithstanding the little which the two writers could possibly have in common, of feelings, habits and prejudices,) accord so well, that we may be permitted to doubt whether so striking a coincidence would be found in the separate narratives of two Europeans of the same nation.

There is something amusing in the candour and simplicity, with which the Chinese ambassador enumerates his own disqualifications and disgrace. 'I *Tu-li-shin*, &c. was born in the year *Ting-vee*, of the reign of the Emperor *Kang-hee* (1667). When I was young, my family was poor, and I was myself of a weak and sickly constitution.' He then goes on to say, that by great application to the duties of the various offices in the government to which he had been appointed, he succeeded at last to be nominated to the superintendence and custody of the sacred animals belonging to the department of the Supreme Court of Rites and Ceremonies. 'Unfortunately,' he adds, 'my talents and capacity proved inadequate to the proper discharge of my several duties, and I failed to answer the expectations which the Emperor, in his gracious goodness, had formed, when he thus selected and employed me. Having been in consequence censured and dismissed altogether from the public service, I retired to *Lin-loo*, where I remained for seven years and upwards, devoting my time to the cultivation of my farm, and to the service of my parents.'

It may seem strange to us that a person should be found fit for an ambassador, who had not 'the talents and capacity' to take care of the holy hogs and hens devoted to the altar; but, besides that this self-abasement may be a matter of good taste in the celestial empire, and go for no more than it is worth, we find from the *Ta-tsing-leu-lee*, or 'Penal Code of China,' that the animals destined for the grand sacrifices, are not only required to be in the state prescribed by the ritual regulations, which are extremely voluminous, but that severe punishments await the superintendant of those rites, if they be not reared and fed according to the law; if they be lean or injured, and, above all, if any of them be permitted to die. These superintendants may, in fact, be con-

considered as a part of the priesthood of the established religion of Boudh; and the ceremonies required by it exact the most minute and unremitted attention.

But the system of degradation is not meant to entail perpetual exclusion. Besides, a foreign mission is so little desirable in the eyes of a Chinese, that the first volunteer is generally accepted; and accordingly *Tu-li-shin* (who had, in his rural occupations, probably improved his practice in the treatment of hogs and hens) took courage, and, though degraded and dismissed from his former offices, on hearing of the intention of government, requested to be employed on the occasion: he was immediately appointed, and 'had again the happiness of witnessing the benign influence and excellent effects of the sacred virtues of his Majesty;' at the same time he received the Emperor's instructions for his conduct on this long and painful journey, the route of which was utterly unknown to himself or any of his companions. These instructions are not only curious, as pointing out, in a very explicit manner, the line of policy in which he was to be guided in his communications with the Russians; but as they evince a sagacious and comprehensive system of policy on the part of the Chinese government; and we cannot avoid adding, that if the good *Tu-li-shin* could afford to speak thus humbly of such talents as he possessed, China must have been less deficient in official characters of enlarged minds, than we have been usually taught to consider it.

After some preliminary instructions relative to the Khan of the Tourgouths, he is directed to meet the *Cha-han*, Khan of Russia (the Czar Peter), if he should send to desire a conference; and in that event he is ordered, on his introduction, to 'conform to the customs and ceremonies of that country.' If asked what is principally esteemed and revered in China, he is to say: 'In our empire, fidelity, filial piety, charity, justice, and sincerity, are esteemed above all things. We revere and abide by them. They are the principles upon which we administer the empire, as well as govern ourselves. In the face of danger we firmly adhere to them. We likewise make sacrifices and oblations; we pray for good things, and we deprecate evil things; but if we did not act honestly, if we were not faithful, pious, charitable, just and sincere, of what avail would be our prayers and sacrifices? In our empire, fidelity, filial piety, charity, justice and sincerity are our ruling principles, the objects of our veneration, and the constant guides of our conduct. In our empire, therefore, there is no hostile array of shields and spears, no severe punishments are inflicted; we have now for a long time enjoyed uninterrupted peace and tranquillity.' This, as Sir George Staunton observes, is a summary



mary of the Confucian faith;—the practice, we suspect, is another thing. If asked as to the arts and productions of China, *Tu-li-shin* is to say, 'It is with us as with other countries, some districts are rich, others are poor;' and he is then to remark, that a report had reached China, that the kingdom of Russia was not at peace with its neighbours, but engaged in actual hostilities; and if so, he is directed to inform them, with an amiable simplicity, that as his Imperial Majesty has no designs to infringe the peace, 'they may immediately remove and employ their frontier troops if they see occasion to do so, without the least hesitation or uneasiness.'

If any assistance should be solicited as to fire-arms, artillery and such like, the ambassador was to say, that 'the length of the way was extremely great; the road over high mountains and rugged rocks, through forests, marshes, and dangerous and difficult passes without number; that, 'by the laws of China, fire-arms are prohibited goods, and their exportation beyond the frontiers never permitted.' If further pressed on this subject, he was to add, 'we are now specially employed upon a mission to the residence of *A-yu-kee*, the Khan of the Tourgouth Tartars, we can hardly, therefore, venture to take upon ourselves to address his majesty, upon subjects which are so totally unconnected therewith.'

If any inquiries should be made of them respecting the attentions paid in China to the aged, they were to say, 'Our emperor, every year, seeks out and distinguishes those who are remarkably aged. Each time from twenty to thirty are selected, who have attained to the age of 100 years; and more than 10,000 are generally found in each province, who have exceeded the age of ninety; they are all suitably favoured and rewarded.' They are reminded that 'as the Russians are of a vain and ostentatious disposition,' they will doubtless make a display of the several things they possess. On such occasions they are directed neither to express admiration nor contempt, but merely to say, 'whether our country possesses, or not, such things as these, it is quite out of our province to determine; some things, indeed, there are, which we have seen, and others have not seen; but there are other things, again, which others have seen, though we have not; on these subjects, therefore, we are by no means sufficiently informed.' They are then instructed to refuse the presents that may be offered to them, again and again; but if closely pressed, to accept only a small part, alleging that they have nothing valuable with them to make a suitable return. They are cautioned against drinking wine immoderately, against immodest women, and against the corrupt manners and customs of the Russians; but at the same time admonished, that 'if, while they are within the Russian territories, they should themselves chance to see any of the women  
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of the country, or to witness any occurrence that may seem absurd in their eyes, they are nevertheless to preserve always their gravity and composure, and by no means to be lightly given to scoffing or ridicule.' And finally, they are to say, if questioned as to their rank and offices, 'We are only officiating magistrates belonging to the outer tribunals of government, and by no means either great officers of state, or immediate attendants on the person of his majesty.'

With these instructions *Tu-li-shin* sets out on his mission, detailing, in the form of a journal, the observations which he made, and the events which occurred upon his route; minutely describing his conversations with the several public authorities among the Russians and Tourgouths, with whom he communicated; and particularly those which he held with Prince Gagarin, the Governor-general of Siberia, and with *A-yu-kee*, who, as we said, had migrated with his tribe from their original place of settlement in Eastern Tartary, to that extensive tract of country which was granted to them by the Russians, between the Volga and the Jaik, in the vicinity of the Caspian. It does not appear that the object of the present embassy was a direct invitation for that tribe to return; though we have no doubt that a result of this kind was secretly contemplated by the Chinese court. It was not however successful on the present occasion: but the hint was not lost; and we know from the '*Mémoires sur les Chinois*,' that in the reign of Kien Lung, in the year 1771, the Tourgouths actually did return to their former settlements in the neighbourhood of China; and, in the same work, we have the public record of their submission to the Chinese government.

After a long and tedious journey, in every part of which, however, they were courteously entertained, and assisted by the Russian authorities, and during which no attempt whatever was made, either to mislead or obstruct them, notwithstanding the equivocal object of their mission, they reached the camp of the Khan of the Tourgouths, who received them with all possible respect and attention, asked them a multitude of pertinent questions respecting China; and on their departure sent them a present of seventy-six horses, and 400 dried bullocks' hides; together with a further present of seventy-two horses and 200 hides, from his son, the acceptance of which, conformably with their instructions, was declined, with the exception of a horse a-piece, which, after much pressing, they condescended to receive.

This Ayu-ke, or Ayu-ke-khan, was a chief of very considerable importance; for we find from Mr. Bell, that in the year 1722, about nine years after the journey of the Chinese ambassador, he was visited by the Czar Peter and his Empress, and invited with

his

his Queen to an entertainment on board the Emperor's galley on the Volga. The 'Ayuka-khan,' says Bell, 'is an old man, about seventy years of age, yet he is hearty and cheerful. He is a prince of great wisdom and prudent conduct, is much respected by all his neighbours for his sincerity and plain dealing; and I recollect that, when I was in Pekin, the Emperor of China made very honourable mention of him.' On this visit it was settled that 5000 of his Tartar cavalry should join the Russian forces on their march into Persia, which they did immediately, and were of great service in that expedition.

As Mr. Bell has described the countries and people through which the Chinese ambassador proceeded, so much better and more fully than the latter could be expected to do, it would be superfluous to enter into any detail of his observations; and we shall therefore content ourselves with remarking, that in all his conferences with Prince Gagarin and the other Russian officers, he seems to have conducted himself agreeably to the tenor of his instructions; that he parried all questions put to him, like a skilful diplomatist; and that he, and all his people, behaved, on all occasions, with great propriety and discretion, and very much to the satisfaction of the 'celestial Emperor,' who, on his return, employed him on another embassy to the Russian frontier.

Our limits forbid us to detail the ambassador's conversations with Prince Gagarin; but they are curious, and contain a great deal of information respecting both Russia and China in those days. Gagarin is called by the ambassador, *Kokolin*, the only way in which a Chinese can pronounce the name. In Voltaire's 'History of the Russian Empire,' this Prince is said to have suffered decapitation, after being twenty years at the head of the Chinese commerce: but Bruce (then an officer in the Russian service) tells us, that having confessed to the Czar the crime laid to his charge, of way-laying and robbing the imperial caravan coming from China, which it was his duty to protect, and afterwards denied it to the senate, alleging that the confession had been extorted from him through fear; his majesty was so exasperated that 'he ordered a gallows, in imitation of Haman's, fifty cubits high, to be erected before the senate-house,' on which he was hanged in presence of all the senators, to most of whom he was either related or allied.

The remainder of the volume consists of the translation of part of a novel;—notices of four dramas;—a treatise on the culture of the cotton plant;—and several extracts from the Pekin Gazette. These are the articles which make us best acquainted with the genius and disposition, the temper and manners of the people,

and the real nature of their government and municipal regulations. We have often thought, and indeed have ventured to declare in a former article, that a series of the *Pekin Gazette* for one year would convey a more complete notion of what is actually passing in this great empire, than the whole body of information contained in that ponderous work of the missionaries, '*Mémoires sur les Chinois.*' The extracts here given will, we think, be found exceedingly curious. '*The Peking Gazette,*' as Sir George Staunton says, 'is a state engine of no inconsiderable importance, and exhibits obvious proofs of an anxiety to influence and conciliate public opinion upon all state questions, which, under a government theoretically so despotic, would hardly have been expected.' It undoubtedly does; and if we did not know the labour and difficulty of the undertaking, we should regret exceedingly that he had not indulged somewhat more liberally in this part of his subject.

The Novel is imperfect; that part of it, however, which has been translated, evidently displays diversity of character among the educated ranks of society, and developes many peculiar manners and customs totally at variance with those we meet with in Europe; neither is it deficient in incident: judging, however, from the little that is given, it appears to be much inferior to that beautiful novel, the *Hao-kiou-tchuan*, or *Pleasing History*. Sir George indeed tells us, that 'the sequel was not of sufficient interest to encourage him to proceed in the work; and that it was found to be disfigured by two incidents which, at least the latter, rendered it unsuitable to his purpose, and totally irreconcilable with our European notions and feelings.' To the 'want of interest,' we have nothing to reply; but it seems to have escaped Sir George that, in the translations of foreign novels, it is information that is sought, and not a correspondence of feeling.—'The *denouement*,' he adds, 'is brought about by a very unnecessary recourse to magic; and the hero of the piece having, by a sort of under-plot, fallen into a love adventure with another damsel, equally amiable, but less nobly connected, he is under no embarrassment from this awkward dilemma, but is happily united in marriage to both the ladies, to the entire satisfaction and approbation of all the parties.' Even in this, we see nothing absolutely forbidding. We are not, much accustomed indeed, in this strict and decorous portion of the globe, to see a man *accommodated*, as Corporal Bardolph has it, with two wives at the same moment, except in a German tragedy; but we can bear the circumstance very well when related of the rampant followers of Fo and Boudh, and, to say the truth, rather expect it than otherwise: we fully admit, however, the overwhelming force of the ingenious translator's first plea, and are pretty

pretty sure that no second foot will ever reach the spot where he first stopped from fatigue.

After all, we strongly suspect that one of the most interesting portions of Chinese general literature will be found in the drama. So few have been the translations of this species of composition, that no adequate opinion can at present be formed of its merits. Excepting the tragedy of the 'Orphan of the House of Tchao,' imperfectly translated by Father Premare, and the version of the 'Heir in Old Age,' by Mr. Davis, (of the latter of which an account will be found in No. XXXII.) we know of no other specimens in any European language. Both these pieces, and the notices of four others now given by Sir George Staunton, are taken from a celebrated collection of one hundred plays, known by the name of *Yuen-jin-pe-tchong*. In the neat and well written preface to the present volume, we find some judicious remarks on the Chinese drama, which, on the whole, Sir George seems disposed to think less calculated than their novels to reward the labour of the translator: their plays, he says, are too local and national to please much as mere compositions; and their minute beauties of style and language must of course be injured or lost in a translation. All this, we doubt not, is strictly true; but at the same time, judging from the 'Heir in Old Age,' we are convinced that they let us see more of the habits, manners, and sentiments most prevalent in domestic life, than any other species of composition.

We regret to have to add, that Sir George Staunton more than hints at having abandoned his Chinese pursuits. We cannot, however, be much surprized at it. Those only who have made the attempt to acquire some little knowledge of it, can duly appreciate the labour and unremitting attention required to make any available progress in a language that may be said to have neither alphabet nor grammar; but to consist of a series of pictured ideas, which none but a native well acquainted with the manners, customs and feelings of his countrymen, can be quite sure of always decyphering correctly. That a gentleman, and a scholar in the full sense of the word, should devote his valuable time to the literature of a country and a people, about which, as we before observed, curiosity seems so little alive, could hardly be expected. With all this, however, the decision pains us; as no one, we believe, remains in the country to fill his place; and the day may, and, we think, must arrive when a knowledge of the Chinese language will be found of infinite importance to the interests of Great Britain.

It should not be forgotten that the Himalaya is now the only barrier between this empire and ours in the east; and that we

have found the means to pass it in more places than one :—but, even supposing no other intercourse to take place between the two nations except that at Canton, it is not very creditable that it should be solely conducted through the medium of a ridiculous jargon of English, which the Chinese find their advantage in learning. It would increase but little the expense of Hertford College, by adding to that establishment a Chinese professor, while it would prepare the young writers, destined for Canton, for the study of a language, which, unprepared, they find little or no inducement to commence on the spot; but the attainment of which would give to their employers certain advantages which they seem not duly to appreciate.

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ART. VI.—*Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered, a Heroic Poem, with Notes and occasional Illustrations.* Translated by the Rev J. H. Hunt, A.M. late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo. 2 vols. Mawman. 1818.

THAT an adequate translation of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* was a desideratum in English literature, is an opinion which few will contest who have compared with the original poem those translations which had been already offered to the world. If that of Hoole has found its way into our libraries, it has been, we apprehend, for no better reason than that, till the late republication of Fairfax, no other was generally accessible: for besides the frequent omissions and misconceptions of which Hoole is guilty, he is chargeable with the still more fatal sins of tameness and insipidity to a degree which is hardly to be paralleled, even in that flattest and tamest period of English heroic poetry when the imitators of Pope had racked his sweetness to the very lees, and poverty and meanness were almost universally mistaken for a chaste and classic simplicity.

'Fairfax,' says Hume, 'hath translated Tasso with an elegance and ease, and at the same time with an exactness which for that age is surprising. Each line in the original is faithfully rendered by a correspondent line in the translation.' Now 'it is written,' as the servant in *Romeo and Juliet* observes—'that the shoemaker should meddle with his yard, and the taylor with his last;'—and, certainly, the historian ought to keep to his chronicle. Fairfax was, indeed, a poet in every sense of the term; and we will confess that if there was any thing which, in the first instance, prejudiced us against the critical fairness and poetical feeling of the present translator, it was the careless and half-contemptuous manner in which he affects to regard as obsolete a composition familiar, we believe, to every youthful reader of taste and feeling.

Beautiful,

Beautiful, however, as the poetry of Fairfax is, yet in another circumstance, which to a translator is still more necessary than poetry, his deficiency is so great as to overturn whatever claim he might else make to having rendered Mr. Hunt's labours superfluous. Instead of numbering, as Mr. Hume says, line for line with his original, he does not even number stanzas:—he is, in fact, habitually inaccurate and regardless of the meaning of his text; he takes leave of his author in almost every page, and wanders to the right or left just as his lively imagination prompts him. It cannot be said of him as of Mr. Hoole, that he has given an outline of the *Jerusalem*, divested of all grace and ornament; but his graces and ornaments are almost entirely his own. In short, his poem is a very delightful one; but it must be to another source that they must apply who desire to form any adequate conception of the real merits of the stately and melancholy child of genius, the fantastic lover of the Princess Eleanor, and the converser with aerial spirits.

Of the present work, we certainly cannot say that it exactly corresponds to our ideas of what a translation of Tasso ought to be. It has the defect of being written, not in stanzas, but in couplets; the worst arrangement of measure, perhaps, ever applied to an heroic poem, and one which is less suited to the *Jerusalem Delivered* than to any other heroic poem, except the *Orlando*. Even blank verse, though in translations it seldom happens that the writer of it can sustain his tone sufficiently above prose to make a long poem throughout poetic, would be far better suited to the variety, the richness, the vivacity of the Italian writers, than that stately and unvaried sound which shuts up all sense and harmony within the compass of twenty syllables. But when Ariosto and Tasso have themselves furnished us with the model of a stanza admitting of an almost infinite variety of pause and harmony, more easy in execution than the couplet itself, and to the ear infinitely more agreeable, nothing but a strange pertinacity in adhering to old opinions could lead a man of Mr. Hunt's taste and talents to follow Hoole in the very peculiarity which, even more than his want of fire, contributes to the languor and tediousness of his narrative. Nor has Mr. Hunt himself escaped from the consequences of his unfortunate election. He is sometimes inflated and sometimes obscure from the mere necessity of conforming to a cadence which cannot be varied with impunity, and whose limits are often too extensive for a single idea, while they are almost uniformly too narrow for more.

But having expressed ourselves thus plainly and strongly as to the principal and pervading defect of Mr. Hunt's attempt, we should be unjust if we did not allow, that in almost all the other



requisites of a translator he ranks not only above his two immediate competitors, but above far the greater number of those who have aspired to make the readers of our language familiar with the poetry of other lands and other ages. He is more faithful than Pope or Dryden, more spirited than Cowper or Warton, and he has less mannerism and affectation than Mr. Sotheby. He is obviously well acquainted with his original, and has read him with all the enthusiastic admiration which a translator ought to feel, which is sure to increase in proportion to the intensity of the labour bestowed on his author, and of which the author in the present instance is confessedly worthy.

To such an attempt there was sure to attach the apprehension of a want of novelty. Tasso was supposed to be a well known writer, though in point of fact many, even of those who regarded themselves as Italian readers, knew little more of him, we believe, than that his poem had Godfrey for its hero and the Delivery of Jerusalem for its action. It was not therefore unlikely that those who had been content to talk of him at second hand, and from the tasteless criticisms of Boileau and Voltaire, would still find this sufficient for their purpose, and experience little curiosity to inquire further into the merits of an author, whose 'cliquant' and injudicious mixture of Paganism and Christianity, Gothic and classical mythology, Oriental and European manners, had been so long the subject of common place declamation and censure. Nor,—had the poet been better known than he really was, or had his reputation suffered less from the attacks of the French critics, was it likely that a work so laborious and extensive as this before us should obtain any great degree of popularity in an age which has rioted so much in the richness of original productions; and learned to look back with something more than weariness on the long and regular narratives, the classical imagery and classical correctness of style and taste, from which our more patient and studious fathers derived years of calm and deep enjoyment.

It must not, however, be imagined that because Tasso was the avowed imitator of Virgil he is therefore deficient in original vigour; that, whatever truth may be found in the criticisms to which we have alluded, his faults are not abundantly compensated by beauties of the highest kind; or that those faults, in fact, however they may impeach his judgment, are not themselves of a nature to raise our opinion of his imaginative powers, and to contribute to the interest and entertainment which a perusal of his poem affords. With Homer it would indeed be idle to compare him; nor is there any thing in the Jerusalem, from beginning to end, equal to the glorious episode of Dido, or the descent of Æneas into the shades. Yet if in these respects, as

well

well as in the sustained vigour and majesty of his style, he is inferior to Virgil, there are many circumstances in which he can endure no unfavourable comparison with him. The choice of a subject, though that of the *Jerusalem Delivered* has been highly and generally extolled, we cannot think one of these. It is a vulgar error to suppose that a theme of great political interest is necessary for the ground-work of a great poem; such themes, on the contrary, from being already familiar in their naked and historical form, are less capable than most others of that varied ornament which poetry delights to scatter over the ground which she selects for her operations; of that breathless and suspended interest which is absolutely necessary to make a long story endurable. We know so little of what Homer's heroes really were, that we are not shocked at hearing actions ascribed to them, or finding them placed in situations which transcend all common experience of mankind—*οἱσι νυν βροτοῖσι σισι*. It is the same with the heroes of Gothic romance, whose names are only transmitted to us in a cloud of mythology and wonder, which is become their proper element, and in which the wildest exploits and the most appalling witcheries are in their proper places, and therefore specious and probable. But when, instead of an imaginary siege of Paris in the unknown age of Charlemagne; and of Paladins and knights whom the poet was at full liberty to bewitch or send to the moon at his pleasure; we have what professes to be a narrative of events in the 12th century, in which the personages are counts and princes of France and Italy familiar to the general reader of history, and of whose persons, manners and mode of warfare we can form no idea different from that which we entertain of other captains and statesmen; it is a little too much to introduce amazons and enchantresses, or to make the capture of a strong city depend on the success of a single knight in cutting down an enchanted tree in a neighbouring forest. It is true that a belief in witchcraft was general, or perhaps universal in Tasso's day; but it was not in witchcraft of this exaggerated kind: nor was any soul then alive who supposed that witchcraft of any kind was to be opposed and conquered by the valour of a single warrior, or by any other means than the kindred and appropriate follies of holy water and exorcism: and above all, a man of judgment, however he may employ popular and temporary superstition as an ornament and an accessory, will never make the hinge of a story which he designs to live to posterity, turn exclusively on such contrivances. It is not thus that Shakspeare makes use of witches. With him they serve indeed to tempt and to bewilder—to dazzle the ambition of his hero by their magical illusions, and to prompt him to deep

and still deeper guilt, at first by prospects of a crown, and afterwards by intimations of the hazardous and unsound elevation to which his perfidy had served to raise him :—but Hecate and her crew are not so much the agents as the chorus of his drama ; and the murder of Duncan and the fall of Macbeth are perpetrated by means merely human, and to which the supernatural machinery can hardly be said to contribute.

But if the subject of Tasso labours under this defect, it is free from one still greater with which that of Virgil is justly chargeable. The heroes of Tasso, Godfrey, Tancred and Rinaldo, are all interesting characters. We really grieve for their disappointments ; we are really anxious during their difficulties and dangers ; we really and honestly rejoice in their success. But the 'pious Æneas' of Virgil is rather a mean creature, who first seduces and then betrays and deserts his high-minded benefactress ; forces himself into a foreign land against the will of its inhabitants, usurps the hand of a princess already betrothed to another, and sacrifices his rival while asking for his life, and when he had previously deprived him of the power of resistance. Except in the old romance of *Tirant the White*, we know not where to find so remarkable a proof of perverted moral feeling :—the impetuosity and even the cruelty of Achilles are amiable in comparison.

Besides this instance, in which Tasso is actually superior to Virgil, we will confess that, making due allowance for the growing bad taste and pedantry of the times in which he lived, when a servile imitation of the ancients was an established principle of criticism, and when nothing was relished which was not well stored with point and *concetti* ;—in the essential points of fancy, of elegance, of occasional splendour of diction ; in discrimination of character ; in the power of exciting pity and expressing tenderness, we should be inclined to place him if not on the same level, yet little beneath the Mantuan Bard. Nor, perhaps, is it too much to say, that if a person equally skilled in both languages were to read the *Æneid* and the *Jerusalem* in the original, or, which is the same thing for the present purpose, in equally good translations, he would confess that he had derived the greatest pleasure from the latter.

The opening lines of every poem are naturally among the parts on which the author bestows most labour. There is, indeed, an absurd canon, which has been still more absurdly extended and commented on by the French critics, and which seems to tend another way ;—but common sense, which is always synonymous with genuine taste, will teach us that in order to gain the attention of the hearer, it is necessary to do our best in the first instance ; not indeed by an ostentatious promise of future excellence, like the opening of the *Indian Ramayuna*, but by the selection of the most appropriate

appropriate and striking imagery, and the greatest polish and elegance of diction, to build up a *προσῳπον τηλαυγες* to that fabric which we have no other means of inducing strangers to visit. This is, in fact, the rule which every poet has followed; and few more pleasing lines can be found in Tasso than his invocation, including that simile of the infant, which no lover of nature can read without delight; though Voltaire, who was doubtless a competent judge as to the taste of his countrymen, declares that it would have appeared to the French 'unworthy of the majesty of the *Epopée*!' Mr. Hunt's version is, perhaps, more than usually diffusive: it cannot, however, be read without pleasure.

'Th' illustrious chief who warr'd for Heav'n, I sing,  
And drove from Jesus' tomb th' insulting king.  
Great were the deeds his arms, his wisdom wrought;  
With many a toil the glorious prize he bought:  
In vain did Hell in hateful league combine  
With rebel man, to thwart the great design;  
In vain the harness'd youth from Afric's coasts  
Join'd their proud arms with Asia's warlike hosts;  
Heav'n smil'd; and bade the wand'ring bands obey  
The sacred ensigns of his lofty away.

'Immortal Muse! not thou, whose brows are crown'd  
With laurels pluck'd on Heliconian ground,  
But thou, who dwell'st the heav'nly tribes among,  
Prompting to angel choirs seraphic song,  
While brightest stars their golden radiance shed  
In unextinguish'd glories, round thy head!  
Thy aid I crave! do thou my breast inspire,  
And breathe o'er all my song celestial fire!  
And thou forgive, if other charms than thine,  
Earth-born attractions, deck my varied line,  
If to my aid I call bright Fiction's pow'rs,  
And weave with Truth divine, Aonian flow'rs.  
The world, thou know'st, affects with giddy joy,  
The flatt'ring bard, whom lighter themes employ,  
And Truth's stern page, when playful Fancy aids,  
The wayward heart allures, subdues, persuades.  
So to her sick'ning babe, the mother's care  
Spreads, with sagacious hand, the honey'd snare  
Round the full cup, with healing juices fraught;  
Th' unconscious infant sucks the bitter draught  
With greedy lips, and cheated of his pain,  
Drinks health and life, and blooms and smiles again.'

vol. i. pp. 3—5.

The description of the angel who is sent to Godfrey, adheres more closely to the original, and is in an equally glowing style of poetry.

'Human

' Human his shape, his mien, his radiant eye,  
 But cloth'd in more than mortal majesty :  
 That glowing age he chose, when youth began  
 To reach the middle space 'twixt boy and man :  
 His hair, of waving amber, pure and bright,  
 Was wreath'd with rosy rays, that beam'd immortal light.  
 Wings of unrivall'd speed his limbs infold ;  
 Of dazzling whiteness they, and fring'd with gold ;  
 With these he cleaves the winds, and sails sublime  
 O'er lands and seas, in ev'ry varying clime.  
 Clad in such gorgeous guise, more swift than thought,  
 Earth's pendent globe the heav'nly herald sought ;  
 Tow'rd Syria's realms his downward way he won,  
 And pois'd his wings o'er wood-crown'd Lebanon.  
 Near high Tortosa's walls he dropp'd to earth,  
 What time the golden sun, at morning's birth,  
 Half in the skies display'd his orient head,  
 Half lay conceal'd in Ocean's briny bed :  
 And Bouillon's prince, just wak'd from slumber, pour'd  
 His early adorations to his Lord,  
 When from the east, companion of the sun,  
 But brighter far, the glitt'ring stranger shone.'

vol. i. pp. 9—11.

Mr. Hunt's copy of the beautiful picture of Armida, though generally faithfully and elegantly finished, is not so universally happy. He has misunderstood the image which is conveyed in the '*mamme acerbe e crude* :—and when he talks of the '*analyzing gaze*' of Fancy he certainly uses an idea which, however it may be borrowed from the schools, is any thing but classical, and of which Tasso himself knows nothing. Yet even here is much to praise.

' In native curls her waving ringlets flow,  
 Yet added curls the breathing gales bestow :  
 Her eye was fix'd upon herself alone,  
 As greedy of Love's treasures, and its own :  
 Glow'd on her cheek the rose's purple light,  
 Though soften'd by the blending iv'ry's white ;  
 But on her lips, whence breezy fragrance blows,  
 In all its genuine lustre bloom'd the rose.'—vol. i. p. 128.

The pleasing and popular episode of Herminia is translated with great fidelity, and with a spirit of poetry which not only leaves Hoole far behind, but, which is no common praise, is not, in any part, excelled by Fairfax. We pass it over, however, in order to make room (and it is all we can spare) for an extract from a passage often copied—the Gardens of Armida. We do not know that they ever appeared (except in the free imitation of Spenser in his bower of Acrasia) in so graceful an English dress before.

' Still

‘ Still lakes of silver, streams that murm’ring crept,  
Hills, on whose sloping brows the sunbeams slept,  
Luxuriant trees, that various forms display’d,  
And vallies, grateful with refreshing shade,  
Herbs, flow’rets gay with many a gaudy dye,  
And woods, and arching grottoes met their eye.  
What more than all enhanc’d those beauties rare,  
Though art was all in all, no signs of art were there:  
Seem’d as if Nature reign’d in ev’ry part,  
Such easy negligence was mix’d with art:  
Nature herself, in frolic, might appear  
To imitate her imitator here.

’Twas magic’s spell call’d forth the genial breeze,  
That fill’d with pregnant life the bursting trees;  
Eternal bloom they yield, eternal fruit,  
The fruitage rip’ning while the blossoms shoot.  
The self-same tree on one o’erloaded twig  
Bears the full-ripen’d, and the nascent fig;  
The apple hanging on one bough is seen  
In ev’ry shade of golden, and of green.  
Where most the genial Sun the garden cheer’d,  
Creeping aloft, the luscious vine appear’d;  
Here clusters crude, there yellower grapes it bore,  
Or ruby-red, and rich with nectar’d store.  
Unnumber’d birds, the leafy boughs among,  
Trill’d the wild music of their wanton song.  
Murmur’d the undulating air around;  
The rills, the leafy grots return’d the sound,  
As loud or low the quiv’ring zephyrs rung:  
When ceas’d the birds, an echo deep they sung.  
But when the feather’d choir restor’d their lay,  
The echo, gently whisp’ring, died away:  
Or chance the concert made, or art design’d,  
Each swelling song the music-breathing wind  
Alternate answer’d, and alternate join’d. }  
Amid the rest one beauteous warbler flew,  
With purple bill, and plumes of various hue;  
His pliant voice assum’d the human tone,  
Each note, the shrill, the soft, the deep, his own.  
With wond’rous skill, mellifluous, loud, and long,  
Surpassing all belief, he pour’d his song.  
Their meaner strains his list’ning fellows clos’d;  
The whisp’ring winds grew silent, and repos’d:  
“ Behold how, bursting from its covert, blows  
With virgin blushes deck’d, the modest rose;  
With half her beauties hid, and half reveal’d,  
More lovely still she seems, the more conceal’d.  
Grown bolder soon, her bosom she displays  
All naked to the winds; then soon decays,

And

And seems the same enchanting flow'r no more,  
Which youths and virgins fair admir'd before.  
Thus transient and ephemer'al fades away  
The flow'r, the verdure, of man's short-liv'd day  
And though the year bring back the vernal hour,  
No more his verdure blooms, no more his flow'r.  
Cull we the rose, while laughs th' auspicious morn  
Of that bright day, which must no more return:  
Cull we the rose; love's transports let us prove,  
While love may answer and reward our love."  
' He ceas'd; with one accord the feather'd throng  
Join'd in applausive chorus to his song.  
The playful doves renew'd their am'rous kiss;  
Each living thing was melted into bliss.  
Seem'd as th' unbending oak, the laurel chaste,  
And ev'ry tree amid that flow'ry waste,  
Seem'd as the Earth, the waves, imbib'd the charm,  
And lifeless Nature's self with love grew warm.'

vol. ii. pp. 192—194.

To compare such lines as these with the corresponding attempts of Hoole would be mere loss of time; nor is their smoothness and harmony more remarkable than the fidelity with which, on the whole, they conform not only to the sense but the words of the original. This is the general, and perhaps the most remarkable, characteristic of Mr. Hunt's translation. It is seldom, indeed, except where the restraint of the couplet and its rhyme has imposed the necessity of a 'pendant' to those thoughts which are simply expressive in the original, that we find any new lines introduced; and, though Mr. Hunt has been more prodigal of epithets than Tasso, there are not many passages in which they appear to have been inserted merely to fill up a gap, or to serve as stepping stones in his descriptions. The most glaring instance in which he has enlarged on his original is, perhaps, the picture of the Phœnix.

' As when the Phœnix, wond'rous bird, reborn,  
Visits the glowing kingdoms of the morn,  
Gives to the Sun, in gay confusion roll'd,  
His thousand hues, vermilion, azure, gold;  
His form divine transcendent glories deck,  
Flame on his breast, and tremble on his neck;  
Majestic to the breeze his pinions wave,  
And sparkles the bright crown that Nature gave:  
To watch his flight the pleas'd spectators throng,  
And nations wonder as he sails along;  
Behind, around, the birds their homage bring,  
And grace the brilliant progress of their King.'

vol. ii. p. 235.

These



These are splendid lines, but they can hardly be called a version of

'Come alhor che'l rinato unico augello  
I suò Etiopi à visitar s'invia,  
Vario, e vago la piuma, e ricco, e bello  
Di monil, di corona aurea, natià;  
Stupisce il mondo, e v'è dietro, ed à i lati,  
Meravigliando, essercito d' alati.'

A more serious offence against his author is, however, to be found in the insertion of occasional 'concetti' which are not in Tasso, and which, as concetti were Tasso's besetting sin, ought, therefore, to have been the more diligently guarded against. Thus, canto iii. l. 173, we find,

'And mid the storm of war, the sun of beauty beams.'

and, again, canto v. l. 197,

'Nor checks the fire that lights him to his tomb.'

These antithetic images are themselves not in the best taste, and, what is of more importance, Mr. Hunt must bear the whole demerit of them, since nothing of the sort occurs in the *Gierusalemme Liberata*.

Occasionally Mr. Hunt mistakes the sense of his original. In canto iv. stanza 9, 'Il gran caso,' means the fall of the rebel angels, not 'the chance of battle.' In the 29th stanza of the same book 'abito' refers not to the *dress*, but the *person* or *carriage* of the beautiful Armida. Again in canto xiii. stanza 45, 'e'l manco è in lui la tema' does not mean that 'fear robb'd him of all sense,' but that all fear of consequences was lost in a stronger passion. That other instances may occur in the course of the work is certainly possible. We have not compared the whole, line by line, with the original; but the first five cantos we really have thus compared, and have detected no other instances of mis-translation, nor any greater offences against taste or accuracy than we have already noticed.

Of Mr. Hunt's versification we have already spoken in terms of praise. We sometimes, indeed, though not often, meet with a careless line. The same word is repeated too soon, and similar phrases occur too often in different parts of the poem, a negligence against which Dryden piqued himself on having guarded. But these are trifling faults in the course of eighteen thousand lines; and we scarcely know where to look for more general and sustained smoothness and spirit during so long and arduous a career, unless it be to the—what shall we call it?—the superhuman effort which produced that masterpiece of rhyme, Pope's version of the *Iliad*.

Nor if Mr. Hunt's faults were far more numerous, redeemed as they

they are throughout by the genuine feeling of a poet and the taste of a well-nurtured scholar, should we feel inclined to lay any great stress on them. It is pleasant, in the present day, when novelty rules supreme in taste as well as in more serious affairs; when almost all who can write, and many who never read, aspire to the praise of original bards, and clog our critical path with productions more numerous, more deformed, more loathsome and contemptible than ever Egypt spawned after her widest inundation; it is refreshing to meet with men who, with powers which could entitle them to hold no humble place in the list of inventive writers, have sufficient diffidence of their own merits, or sufficient veneration for those of their predecessors, to employ themselves in the less brilliant, but not less useful toil of naturalizing to our soil and language those mighty strangers from whom Spenser and Milton drew their largest draughts of inspiration; and by the diligent study of whose works it is that future poets like Spenser and Milton are to arise, if ever they arise amongst us. It was on the Italian School that the original English School of poetry was formed. Whatever other lessons it has since derived from France or Germany have been, at best, of doubtful advantage, and the scions thus transplanted have never readily taken root in our soil. It is by a return to our original models that our ancient vigour and correctness is most likely to be restored: and we are, therefore, grateful to the labours of Mr. Carey and Mr. Hunt, of whom the first opened to us the wild and romantic recesses of Dante's Vision, and the second has brought forward Tasso in a costume at once accurate and graceful. Ariosto yet remains, inferior to Dante in severe sublimity, inferior to Tasso in taste and correctness, but superior to both in the richness and various delight of his enchanted and enchanting wilderness. What bard will undertake the adventure?

Mr. Hunt has subjoined to the bottom of his pages some scholarlike and useful notes, illustrative of the classic sources whence Tasso borrowed much of his imagery. For the notes at the end of the work we cannot say much; they begin by a needless and preposterous comparison between Tasso and Milton, the last of whom, in his zeal for the former, he endeavours, absurdly enough, to disparage. In another place we have a flippant undervaluing of Cowper; and there are some lines from the French, on a most hideous and disgusting subject, introduced 'à propos de rien,' and without any merit of their own to recommend them, which Mr. Hunt must discard from his next edition, if he has any value for his own character as a man of taste and feeling, or as a clergyman. He has also, evidently from heedlessness, quoted, in another place, a sceptical observation of the Encyclopedists respecting

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specting angels, without refuting it; and when there was no kind of necessity for introducing it at all. We could have given him credit for understanding French without such proofs as these; yet we really cannot conceive any other motive for drawing them from the recesses of his Eton or Cambridge common-place-book.

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ART. VII.—*Memoir of the Rev. Henry Martyn, B. D., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Chaplain to the Honourable East India Company.* 8vo. Fourth edition.

IN noticing the Memoirs of a person, who is represented by his biographer, as 'the faithful and laborious pastor—the self-devoted Missionary—the indefatigable translator of the Scriptures—the preacher of the gospel to the heathens, and the erect and courageous Christian confessor,' we cannot help expressing our regret, that works of this description are so seldom sent into the world with just claims to general favour. The fact seems to be, that they are commonly published with a view to attract the attention of persons of a particular turn of mind; and the compilers of them are therefore led (and in a language peculiar to themselves) to profess doctrines, and advance opinions, as likely to displease the majority of readers, as to gratify the taste of those for whom they are especially meant. It is rarely too, that a man of cultivated understanding or sound judgment can be found to engage in the undertaking itself, which is therefore usually assigned to some young enthusiast, whose piety is his only recommendation. An uncommon share of earnestness in the sacred cause to which he has dedicated himself, ought, beyond all doubt, to be the principal feature in the character of a missionary; but much more than this is requisite to secure success: and unless he combine prudence with zeal, worldly acquirements with spiritual wisdom, and a little common sense with religious ardour, he will seldom be able to inspire others with the same feelings that govern himself. 'I have sometimes been ashamed,' said one who well knew what was necessary to qualify a missionary for a proper discharge of his duty, 'to see the Christian put to silence by the intelligent Bramin upon some point relating to the history of the eastern nations, or to the present state of man, and I have felt anxious for the credit of Christianity, if I may so speak, on such occasions; for the argument from fact, and from the existing state of things, is a strong ground for the Christian and his adversary, in all discussions relating to a revelation from God. This is well illustrated in the history of St. Paul, who disputed with the learned at Athens on their own principles, and quoted their poets in defence of the gospel.'

There

There is something so heroic, so sublime in the determination to forsake home, country, friends, kindred, and all that can render life desirable, for the sake of those who are strangers to God, that it is impossible not to venerate the missionary, who has determined to make his grave among the inhabitants of a distant land. Our affections, our admiration, our best wishes, our most fervent prayers go with him. We hardly inquire whether he be a Catholic, a Baptist, a Moravian, or a Church-of-England-man. We watch him with anxiety, and identify ourselves with him in all his hopes and fears. Our mortification is therefore severe, to find (on reaching the scene of his labours) his zeal unaccompanied with any of those qualities which we hoped would distinguish a man of such ardent and resolute character. When we look to see him display talents of research, and to throw new light upon questions hitherto undetermined, and which he has opportunities of examining successfully, he rejects them with affected scorn, and leaves us as much in the dark as before. When we hope to see him benefit by some fortunate concurrence, he superstitiously waits for a preternatural intimation, for some internal experience, for something or other which he expresses in the phraseology of his sect or party. When we expect information on some interesting topic of history, literature, science or philosophy, he more than disappoints—he pains us, by triumphing in his own indifference upon these subjects; and declaring that nothing can occupy his attention, but the main object of his mission, and the glory of God! Surely it is no sin, it is nothing incompatible with his sacred calling to be, and to appear to be a naturalist, a scholar, or a philosopher. It is no crime against the simplicity of the gospel to advance the cause of truth by making observations upon the manners, the customs, or the antiquities of the people among whom he is residing. It would not be distrusting the power of the Most High to employ human means of conversion, and to facilitate the grand task, by showing how advantage may be taken of the existing character and peculiarities of a people, and how they may be made subservient to the designs of Providence.

Considering the valuable materials which the compiler of the volume before us had in his possession, he might, we think, have produced something which would have been justly liable to none of these objections. He was entrusted with the arrangement of the papers of a man eminently gifted by nature, and highly accomplished by education; of one in whom to the more important character of a faithful servant of God, were united all the qualifications which conciliate the affections and admiration

of

of mankind. Mr. Martyn, though strongly tinctured with the gloom and peculiar colouring of a party, had yet within him all the elements of the scholar and philosopher; and must have left many observations behind him, many incidents of a personal nature, calculated to excite the liveliest interest, and to throw a thousand charms around a *Memoir*, which, by the omission or sparing introduction of them, his biographer has, in many places, contrived to render inanimate and tiresome.

Mr. Henry Martyn was born in Cornwall in the year 1781, of parents whose circumstances did not place them much above the humbler ranks of life; but his early display of talent induced them to make every effort for his advantage, and to send him to St. John's College, Cambridge, at the age of seventeen. The earnestness with which he applied to his studies justified the expectation of his family; and his labours were crowned with the highest academical honours. He was the senior wrangler, and first Smith's-prizeman of his year, (1801) distinctions which, it is well known, none but men of promising talents can obtain. These and other honours thickened upon him before he had completed his twentieth year; but they did not divert his mind from the 'one thing needful': his religious turn became more and more decided, and he had scarcely exceeded the age of twenty-one, when he formed the heroic, and, considering his worldly prospects, the almost unprecedented resolution of dedicating himself to the service of God, as a missionary to the east. It was the remark of a friend, that, 'to have known only the employments of Mr. Martyn's more free and unfettered moments, would have led to the conclusion, that the classics and poetry were his predominant passion.' He said of himself, at the very time when he was earnestly soliciting to have the mission church at Calcutta put under his superintendence, 'since I have known God in a saving manner, painting, poetry, and music have had charms unknown to me before. I have received what I suppose to be a taste for them; for religion has refined my mind and made it more susceptible of impressions from the sublime and beautiful.'

Without recurring again to the humble attainments and inexperience in general of missionaries, we may observe, that having no opportunity of rising into notice at home, they are the more inclined to forsake a country which holds out few hopes to them, and to embrace a mode of life, which, though it be one of toil and self-denial, is probably not much more so to many of them, than that with which they would have to struggle upon their native soil. But the sacrifice which Henry Martyn made was full and absolute. He voluntarily resigned all that had hitherto been his recreation and delight. He was prepared to renounce

honours of which he might well be proud; friends who loved him, and a world which was smiling upon him. He was ready to submit to privations, which his weak constitution was ill able to encounter. He consented to humiliations from which his sensibility must have been inclined to shrink with abhorrence, and made up his mind to pass the rest of his life with no other source of happiness than that which proceeds from within. The following extract from his Journal will show that he was not insensible to the sacrifice of worldly prospects, and that he entered upon his new engagement with feelings, which one paramount consideration alone could enable him to subdue.

'The dejection I sometimes labour under seems not to arise from doubts of my acceptance with God, though it tends to produce them, nor from desponding views of my own backwardness in this divine life; for I am more prone to self-dependence and conceit; but from the prospect of the *difficulties I have to encounter in the whole of my future life.* The thought that I am to be unceasingly employed in the same kind of work, among poor ignorant people, is what my proud spirit revolts at. To be obliged to submit to a thousand uncomfortable things that must happen to me, whether as a minister or a missionary, is what the flesh cannot endure. At these times I feel love neither to God or man, and in proportion as these graces of the spirit languish, my besetting sins, pride, discontent, and unwillingness for every duty make me miserable.'—p. 34.

It is melancholy to reflect upon the mischief which results from pressing certain subjects upon the attention of minds too delicately framed to contemplate them closely. A young man of Mr. Martyn's extreme sensibility required to be thrown into very different company from that with which he was usually surrounded. Such purity and primitive simplicity as his were in no danger of suffering from cheerful society: but unhappily for him several of his friends and connections belonged to a party who seemed to think, that unless the Christian can entirely abstract his hopes, his fears, his cares and joys from this world, all is wrong with him; and who therefore denounced every acquiescence with the customs, and any fondness for the amusements of social life, as sinful, and even damning. Associating with such persons, we can easily understand how the poor youth could sometimes be delivered up to the gloomy apprehensions which occasioned such expressions as the following.

'I set before myself the *infinite mercy of being out of hell.*'—'Ah what a heart is mine!'—'The indistinctness of my view of its desperate wickedness is terrible to me.'—p. 54.

'I found a want of the presence of God from the fear of having acted against the suggestions of conscience, in indulging myself with reading the amusing account of Dr. Vanderkemp, instead of applying myself

myself to the severer studies of the morning. God be merciful to me a sinner. *It is a mercy that I am out of hell.*

Mr. Martyn's biographer appears to record these and other melancholy reflexions of a similar kind with a great deal of complacency, and without being at all aware that he is giving an unfair and unsatisfactory representation of that religion, which we are sure he would wish to describe as the most inviting and consolatory to man.

The time was now arrived, when this exemplary pattern of piety and heroism was to embark for a region which could have no charms for him, but as a scene of exertion in the service of Christ. Before he set foot on board, he had determined, when once he should leave England, to leave it for ever. And here it is due to the illustration of his Christian character to mention, that they were not merely the ties of habit, friendship and family which bound him to his country: there were others of a stronger and more tender kind. He had nourished a deeply fixed attachment for one every way worthy of him. The affection was mutual, and why he was not united to the excellent woman to whom allusion is made, is a secret which his biographer has not enabled us to disclose. From Mr. Martyn's high sense of honour, and from the anguish which he suffered in consequence of the separation, there is reason to believe that some undue influence was used, and that he was persuaded by over zealous friends to prefer a life of celibacy, as the one most compatible with his labours as a missionary.

On his way to Portsmouth, where he was to embark for India, such was the oppression of heart under which he laboured, and the intensity of his feelings, that he fell into a convulsion fit, unable either to suppress or conceal his emotions. 'He felt loth,' he said, 'to forsake all on earth, and compared his feelings to those of a man, *who should suddenly be told*, that every friend he had on earth was dead.'

Contrary winds forced the ship in which he sailed to put into Falmouth, where she was detained for upwards of three weeks; and he embraced the opportunity of throwing himself once more into the society of his friends: but the short lived pleasure was more than counterbalanced, when the painful hour of separation came. He was sitting with the person dearest to him on earth, when the signal was made for sailing, and he hurried on board with the melancholy certainty of never beholding her again. Cornwall was in sight for the greater part of this and the succeeding day, and every object on the receding shore reminded him of scenes most precious to his recollection.

'Sunday, August 11th. I rose dejected, and extremely weak in  
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body. After simply crying to God for mercy and assistance, I preached on Hebrews xi. 16. "But now they seek a better country, that is an heavenly. Wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God, for he hath prepared for them a city." On repeating the text I could scarcely refrain from bursting into tears, for the Mount and St. Hilary's spire, and trees were just discernible by the naked eye, at the time I began my sermon by saying,—that now the shores of England were receding fast from our view, and all had taken a long, and many of us an eternal farewell! &c.—We had made little way during the night, and in the morning I was pleased to find we were in Mount's Bay, midway between the Land's End and the Lizard; and I was often with my glass recalling those beloved scenes till after tea, when, ascending the poop, I found they had disappeared, but this did not prevent my praying for all on shore. Amidst the extreme agony of my mind this day, I found great pleasure at seasons of prayer, in interceding earnestly for my beloved friends all over England.—England had disappeared, and with it all my peace. The pains of memory were all I felt. Would I go back? O no! I find by experience I am weak as water. O my dear friends in England, when we spoke with exultation of the mission to the heathen, whilst in the midst of health, and joy, and hope, what an imperfect idea did we form of the sufferings by which it must be accomplished!—p. 119.

After a tedious voyage of eight months, during which he frequently indulged in this strain of plaintive melancholy, and a short stay at Calcutta, Mr. Martyn reached Dinapore on the 26th November, 1806, and from this period we are to date the commencement of his labours as a missionary. His appointment at this place, properly speaking, was that of chaplain to the East India Company, in which capacity he was to officiate as occasion might require, both among the civil and military servants of the Company. But the situation of chaplain was no further an object of ambition to him, than as offering facilities of exertion among the idolaters who constituted the far greater proportion of the population at this distant station. His pastoral duties, as far as they were confined to Europeans, would by no means have been heavy, unless his own zeal had made them so: but he no sooner arrived at Dinapore, than he proposed to himself a routine of duties, to which his constitution was by no means equal. The English families, for want of a regular place of worship and an active minister, were but little alive to spiritual matters: the soldiers, who were Christians by profession only, seemed to be like sheep without a shepherd; and the few native Christians were sunk into a condition of the most lamentable ignorance. Here was abundant room, as the Journal remarks, 'for faith, zeal, courage, and love;' and he who was deficient in neither immediately set about recalling the wanderers to the fold, and laying

laying the groundwork of an extensive publication of the Gospel to the inhabitants at large.

His principal objects, after providing for the celebration of divine service, were to establish native schools, to provide translations of the Scripture, and religious tracts for dispersion, and to attain such a readiness in Hindostannee as might enable him to preach in that language to the inhabitants of the country. The Governor-General, in consequence of his remonstrances, gave orders for building a church at Dinapore, but unhappily the ministry of the new chaplain did not conciliate the Europeans, or produce that spiritual improvement among them, which he so ardently laboured to effect. He *would* preach *extempore*, though he found it gave offence; he would press particular subjects out of season, as well as in season; in short he would do every thing which suited his own serious and devout turn of mind at the instant, rather than wait for the aid of circumstances and opportunities. His establishment of native schools was at first attended with disappointment: the people thought, from the earnestness with which he began his undertaking, that he meant to seize upon their children and make them Christians in some compulsory manner. Mr. Martyn, in this instance at least, discovered, that he had been too precipitate, and corrected his error. By mild expostulations, and temperate reasoning, he removed their apprehensions, and at last succeeded in filling his schools. He became in a short time such a proficient in the language of the country, as to speak and translate it fluently, and was thus enabled to be of more service than any missionary who had gone before him. In less than four months he translated the whole of the Liturgy into Hindostannee, and ventured to perform divine service and to preach in the same language: he afterwards produced a commentary upon the Parables, and before the year was out, had advanced very far in the translation of the New Testament.

No one could exert himself more faithfully, more unremittingly than Mr. Martyn, to promote the work in which he was engaged. His energy was such that neither the heat of the climate, nor the pains of an increasing affection of the chest, could induce him to remit his efforts. In short, whatever he did, he did it with all his might, and yet he failed: he made very few converts, and was obliged to acknowledge in his Journal and Correspondence, that he could discern but few visible effects of his ministry.

The fact is, that his management was too rigorous at the outset, and that he made no allowance for the gradual reception of the truths which he taught. He fancied that nothing was gained

to the household of faith, unless the proselyte were at once as good a Christian as himself. An extract or two from his Journal will explain this, and the loss of many opportunities of adding to the number of those who would be saved, through a too punctilious attention to single and insulated points of doctrine. Application for baptism having been made to him by one of the native women, and refused, he thus observes upon it :

‘Your account of a native woman, whom you baptized, came in season for me. I have been subjected to some similar perplexities, but I think no one would refuse baptism in the case you mention. The woman, who is making the same petition here, promises to marry, and comes frequently for instruction, but her heart is not touched with any tender sense of sin, and of her need of mercy. Yet if there be no scandal in her life, and she professes her belief in those points in which they are interrogated in the baptismal service, may I lawfully refuse? I cannot tell what to do: I seemed almost resolved not to administer the ordinance till convinced in my own mind of the true repentance of the person.’—p. 269.

The biographer thinks Mr. Martyn was right in not baptizing persons, who, though convinced of the *truth*, were ignorant of the *spirit* of Christianity, and that his decision was consistent with the doctrines of the church of England, and agreeable to the word of God, and to the practice of primitive times. But it appears to have escaped them, that the Hindoo had better offer an imperfect service to the Most High, than bow his knee in the temple of Juggernaut. Is nothing gained, if, by admitting those people to the rites of baptism, we save, as we undoubtedly shall, their women from the funeral pile, their children from the Ganges, and their young damsels from the impurities of the most revolting of religious rites? Is it nothing to instruct and purify by degrees, but must we insist on an absolute, a thorough regeneration at once, or refuse to admit them into our communion? An established church stands in need of human support. It requires subscriptions, unity of assent, and unity of observances; but a community of neophytes is best formed by omitting what is merely circumstantial, and by retaining that which is indispensable to a right understanding of the word of God. There is much good sense in the advice given by Archdeacon Pott to Mr. Sperchneider, previously to his departure for the same quarter: ‘The counsel I would offer you is this: let not the disputable tenets which divide the hearts of men in the Christian world, things which stand apart from the sure foundation of our common faith, be carried with you. It is surely no unreasonable wish, that they, who have wrangled so long for disputed things with no good success, would keep them from the ears of those, whose interest

interest it is to learn only what is necessary to be known and practised.' Had Mr. Martyn followed this counsel, he would have made more proselytes among the idolatrous Hindoos in one year than will be made in a century by perpetually urging certain terms and doctrines, in regard to which the soundest theologians will never perhaps be able to come to a conclusion. But it was his constant mistake to think it necessary to demand assent to propositions, which could not but stagger the probationer. No wonder therefore that he should be driven at length to acknowledge and lament his want of success in the work of conversion. 'Corrie,' says he, in a confidential letter to Mr. Brown, 'will bring you but a poor account of my congregation: I am much neglected on all sides, and without the work of translation, I should fear my presence in India were useless.'

Despairing of making that impression in India which his ardent mind at one time led him to expect, and ever upon the watch to do some good, it occurred to him, that by taking a voyage to Bushire, and proceeding from thence to Shiraz, he might recruit his shattered health, and by collecting the opinions of learned natives, produce such a translation of the New Testament in the Persian language, as might be deemed fit for general circulation. With that elasticity of mind which distinguished him, he soon put his projects into execution, and departed for ever from those shores, which he so fondly hoped to have been instrumental in annexing to Christendom. A new theatre of action was open to him; and we have to contemplate his character in a yet more striking light, and to admire such a display of talent, perseverance and courage, as has seldom been surpassed. In some respects indeed we shall have to show that he was still pursuing a phantom, and as inflexibly as ever professing to consider those matters as indispensable, which only promote, and do not constitute the essentials of Christianity: but for the most part his conduct was judicious, spirited, and productive of considerable benefit to the cause of truth.

On the 9th of June, 1811, Mr. Martyn arrived at Shiraz, and was received into the house of Jaffier Ali Khan, a Persian of distinction, whose brother-in-law, Mirza Seid Ali Khan, kindly offered to render him every assistance in his translation, and contracted an affection for him, which was not only the means of rendering his visit to Shiraz extremely pleasant, but led to consequences of much moment to both. Seid Ali was a man of the kindest disposition, extremely well read in oriental literature, entirely free from bigotry of any kind, and ready at all times to express his opinion upon topics connected with the Mahomedan or Christian faith. An ingenious intercourse of opinion frequently

took place between them, and Mr. Martyn soon discovered that the genius of the Persians inclines them to argue upon religious subjects, and to discuss the evidences of their national creed without reserve. Clear in explaining his propositions, logical in the arrangement of his arguments, well skilled in controversy, and in the full command of words and language, he took every opportunity of gratifying this love of debate, and of introducing those topics which were at all times uppermost in his mind. As an Englishman, he was an object of respect to the Persians; as the friend of Jaffier Ali, and Seid Ali, both of royal extraction, he was admitted into the first society; and as a man of science and learning, he was the centre of attraction from the moment his attainments were understood.

But Mr. Martyn's talents as a disputant were not exercised only in private: they excited at length so much general interest, that the Moojtuhid, or professor of Mahommedan law, thought it incumbent upon him to invite him to a public discussion of religious topics; and the debate was maintained in a manner that added much to the reputation of the Christian theologian. Considering the authority, the popularity, and the character for sanctity which this Mahommedan doctor enjoyed, it reflects high credit upon his own moderation and candour, and upon the tolerant spirit of the Persians, that an obscure stranger could venture to enter the lists with him, and to deny the divine mission of Mahommed in the face of the whole city. So universally was the spirit of inquiry raised in consequence of this public discussion, that the preceptor of the Moollahs, Mirza Ibraheem, took up the contest after the Moojtuhid resigned it, and published in Arabic a defence of Mahommedanism, which obtained the credit of surpassing all former treatises of the kind. It was written with great subtilty and skill, but in a strain of candour highly honourable to the author, who set a good example to Christian polemics, by endeavouring to settle the controversy by the pen, instead of the sword, and by declaring before all his disciples, 'that if Mr. Martyn really confuted his arguments he should be bound in conscience to become a Christian.'—Mr. Martyn's answer to this defence was divided into two parts, the first devoted to a bold and unqualified attack upon Mahommedanism, and the second intended to display the evidences and establish the authority of the Gospel dispensation. It ended with the following address to Mirza himself: 'I beg you to view these things with the eye of impartiality. If the evidence be indeed convincing, mind not the contempt of the ignorant, nor even death itself, for the vain world is passing away like the wind of the desert.'—p. 389.

The account which the Journal gives of the effect produced  
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on Ibraheem's mind by this address, is not the least interesting part of the volume, and if our limits allowed, we should indulge in a few extracts from it; but we are hastening to a conclusion, and can only find room for the following passage :—

'I called on the Vizier, afterwards on the secretary of the Kerman-shah Prince. In the court where he received me, Mirza Ibraheem was lecturing. Finding myself so near my old and respectable antagonist, I expressed a wish to see him, on which Jaffier Ali Khan went up to ascertain if my visit would be agreeable. The master consented, but some of his disciples demurred. At last, one of them observing that by the blessing of God on the master's conversation, I might possibly be converted, it was agreed that I should be invited to ascend. Then it became a question where I ought to sit. Below all, would not be respectful to a stranger, but above all the Moollahs could not be tolerated. I entered, and was surprized at the numbers. The room was lined with Moollahs on both sides, and at the top. I was about to sit down at the door, but I was beckoned to an empty place near the top, opposite to the master, who, after the usual compliments, without further ceremony, asked me, what we mean, by calling Christ God? War being thus unequivocally declared, I had nothing to do, but to stand upon the defensive. Mirza Ibraheem argued temperately enough, but of the rest some were very violent and clamorous. The former asked if Christ had ever called himself God? Was he the creator, or the creature? I replied, the creator! The Moollahs looked at one another. Such a confession had never before been heard among Mahommedan doctors.'—435.

It is not to be supposed, that Mr. Martyn's bold and open avowal of his opinions was always received with the same spirit of moderation: his patience and firmness were sometimes put to a very severe trial; but it does not appear that any violence was ever offered to his person, or that he was exposed to any thing like persecution. The most intemperate of his antagonists either kept within certain limits; or, if they appeared inclined (as was the case in one or two instances) to use menacing language, they were immediately checked by others who seemed to be ashamed of such misplaced zeal.

The question will naturally now be, how many proselytes did this courageous champion of the faith make in Persia? How many converts did he *baptize*? That he excited an extraordinary sensation in this quarter of the east, and that he imparted a certain degree of conviction to the minds of many Mahommedans is indisputable; but it does not appear that he baptized any: at least his Journal will not allow us to come to any other conclusion than that the same scruples which prevented his administering the holy sacrament in India, confined him to the same mistaken line of conduct in Persia. He exposed the imposture of the Prophet

Prophet in the very heart of the Musselman world, and, in his own words, 'prepared the way of the King of the East;' but he did not *ritually* make any Christians there. He even left his friend Seid Ali, who, as he says, 'was pricked to the very heart,' and repeatedly expressed his wish to be baptized, together with several others, who were ready to confess even more than Agrippa, without administering the sacred rite to them.

But though Mr. Martyn did not do so much, either in India or Persia, as might have been expected, we are far from withholding from him the applause which his labours so justly deserve. He performed far more than any of his predecessors or contemporaries in the same path, and we must remember that, while we are estimating his merits, the question should be, what was the measure of his zeal, of his sincerity, and of his exertions? Although he baptized but few in India, and none in Persia, it was by his means that the whole of the New Testament was translated into the Hindostannee and Persian languages, by which a traveller may be understood from the Chinese wall to the Pyramids, from the confines of Russia to the shores of the Indian Ocean. The consequences which may result from the extensive circulation which he thus gave to the Scriptures, can never be computed till the world shall have been Christianized. Mr. Martyn, in the fervour of youthful zeal, fancied that exhortation and preaching would be the means by which he should convert the heathens: but his usefulness discovered itself in a more silent and unostentatious track; one which will guide millions to the Church of God, long after his own name shall be forgotten on earth. Translation was his talent, and in this he succeeded above human calculation. When Mr. Martyn preached or expounded the gospel, he oftentimes enveloped it in the clouds of his own erroneous interpretation; but when he simply translated it, he delivered it in all its purity, and as such it seldom failed to find its way to the hearts of men. It was his own complaint, that after he had been endeavouring to illustrate the doctrines of redemption, he was perpetually mortified by discovering what he called a *want of spirituality* in his Persian friends; but when he *read* the sacred text to them, or when they themselves perused passages which he had rendered into their native tongue, their attention and sensibility excited his joy and admiration. 'They shed tears.'—'They were as still as a church.'—'Their attention to the word, and their love and respect seemed to increase.'—

To render his Persian translation of the New Testament an object of respect and curiosity among the *well-educated natives*, Mr. Martyn determined to present a copy of it to the Shah, under the hope that the royal acceptance of it would facilitate its general

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general circulation. For this purpose he left Shiraz on the 24th of May, 1812, and undertook a long and painful journey to Tebritz, which was attended with such extreme suffering, as to bring on a fever which confined him to his bed for nearly two months. Fortunately the first symptoms of this disorder discovered themselves, while he was at the house of the British ambassador (Sir Gore Ouseley) at Tebritz, and here he received every attention which the most generous hospitality and assiduous tenderness could afford. The attack, however, was too severe for his feeble frame to sustain: it was evident that he could bear no more such toils as he had hitherto encountered, and at length he complied with the representations of his friends, and resolved to return to England for the restoration of his health. This determination was no sooner made, than the full tide of affection and sensibility, which the poor missionary had made it the effort of his life to check, rushed back to his heart. The thought of revisiting his native soil, and once more meeting those whom he loved, made him too precipitate in putting his design into execution. His face was no sooner turned towards England, than he fondly imagined that no mode of travelling could be too expeditious for him. 'Do I dream!' said he, when writing to a friend upon the subject of his return home, 'that I venture to think and write of such a pleasing hope.' Alas! the hope and anticipation were all that he was destined to enjoy. After a journey of excessive suffering he reached Tocat, exhausted by fatigue, burnt up by fever, and half delirious with pain. The last insertions in his Journal were equally expressive of intense illness, and of ardent longing after immortality. 'Oh when shall time give place to eternity! there none of those corruptions, that add still more to the miseries of mortality, shall be seen or heard of.' He breathed his last at Tocat on the 16th of August, 1812, and we should not do justice to his biographer, if we were to offer our reflections upon the melancholy circumstances of his death in any words but his own. 'While some shall delight to gaze upon the splendid sepulchre of Xavier, and others chuse rather to ponder over the granite stone which covers all that is mortal of Swartz, there will not be wanting those who will think of the humble and unfrequented grave of Henry Martyn, and be led to imitate those works of mercy which have followed him into the world of light and love.'

We cannot dismiss this article without adverting to Mr. Martyn's expectation of Persia being the first oriental nation to embrace the faith of Christ. 'The Persians,' said he, 'will probably take the lead in the march to Sion.' If he meant to speak of the conversion of this immense empire as an event likely

to happen within no very distant period, and as the result of missionary exertion, unsupported by secular assistance, and independent of any of those secondary causes, which have happily conduced to the conversion of other nations, we are really unable to discover the foundation upon which he rested his hopes. We are most willing to believe that the curiosity concerning the Gospel, excited by Mr. Martyn at Shiraz, will not readily subside; and that he imparted a conviction of the truth of Christianity to many Mahomedans there, which may be followed by important consequences.\* We believe too that if other persons of equal zeal and ability could be found to follow his steps, they might also succeed in producing impressions of a salutary kind on many individuals in the same quarter. But there is a vast difference between partial and general conversion, and it does not at all follow, because the natives of Persia have the good humour to tolerate a learned Christian polemic, that the whole nation is therefore ripe for a change in favour of Christianity. Indeed we are apprehensive that the inquisitive Persian who seems to listen to Gospel truths with so much complacency, does so more from indifference to his national creed, than from any deep concern about his spiritual condition. Disposed to encourage any thing that savours of erudition and freedom of opinion, he lends a willing ear to the missionary, not because his conscience is awakened, but that he may hear something that will lead to a new train of thought.

But leaving the national character of the Persians entirely out of the question, we do not flatter ourselves with the prospect

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\* We have a pleasing confirmation of our expectation in the recent publication of Sir R. Ker Porter, who traversed much of the road passed by Mr. Martyn, and resided a considerable time at Shiraz, with a near relation of his friend Mirza Seid Ali. 'At Shiraz,' says Sir Robert, 'Mr. Martyn dwelt nearly a year: and on leaving its walls, the apostle of Christianity found no cause for "shaking off the dust of his feet" against the Mahomedan city. The inhabitants had received, cherished, and listened to him; and he departed thence amidst the blessings and tears of many a Persian friend. Through his means, the Gospel had then found its way into Persia; and as it appears to have been sown in kindly hearts, the gradual effect hereafter may be like the harvest of the seedling.'

The next passage interested us greatly, and we extract it with peculiar pleasure. 'The attentions of my host were so unwearied that I never could forget I was in the house of the near kinsman of the two noble Persians, Jaffier Ali Khan, and Mirza Seid Ali, who had shown the warmest personal friendship to our "Man of God"! for so they designated Henry Martyn. When the weather became too intense for his enfeebled frame to bear the extreme heat of the city, Jaffier Ali Khan pitched a tent for him in a most delightful garden beyond the walls, where he pursued his translation of the Scriptures; or sometimes in the cool of the evening, he sat under the shade of an orange-tree, by the side of a clear stream, holding that style of conversation with the two admirable brothers which caused their pious guest to say, "That the bed of roses on which he reclined, and the notes of the nightingales which warbled above him, were not so sweet as such discourse from Persian lips."

of seeing any people universally converted by the mere preaching of missionaries, however highly we may appreciate their labours. No example of a whole nation being evangelized occurred till the fourth century; and even then the happy event was brought about by a combination of circumstances, many of which, though they were doubtless of divine appointment, were entirely beyond the agency of men devoted to the service of God. We are taught therefore by facts not to trust solely to missionary exertions, nor always to be looking for the workings of Providence, but to co-operate with the divine power in the extension of our faith, 'after the manner of men,' that is, by employing such rational and ordinary means as are likely to promote the end in view; for although the effusion of the Holy Spirit directs subordinate causes, yet it may be said at the same time to wait for them, and to act not independently of human agency.

In our opinion, next to the dissemination of the Scriptures, the most probable way of inducing the Persians, or any other civilized people, to enter into such a comparison between their own, and the Christian creed, as may eventually lead them to adopt the latter, is to contrive opportunities of showing them the improvement in arts, science, and society, which Christianity never fails to carry with it. A spirit friendly to our civil and religious institutions would thus be imperceptibly excited; and, upon the old dramatic principle of what is seen making a more lasting impression than what is heard, unbelievers would be more convinced by witnessing the beneficial effects of Christianity, than by all that could be told them by the Missionary. Could our government, for example, be prevailed upon to employ its supposed influence with the Persian court, to obtain its consent for the British factory at Bushire to establish a school or college, ostensibly for the instruction of Persian children and adults in European arts and literature; (and the necessary funds for the support of such an institution might well be spared out of the annual income of some of the missionary societies;) as there is now a tendency in many of the natives of that country to discuss and embrace the truth, we cannot avoid thinking, that it would be considerably increased by thus giving them the means of receiving an European education upon their own soil, and by gradually preparing their minds for the reception of what would alarm them if hastily advanced.

It will not be out of place to observe here, that we do not remember a single instance of any civilized kingdom having been converted, until the missionaries were countenanced by men in power; and we could wish those good people, who take such an active part in associations for the extension of the gospel, would pay

pay more attention to a maxim, which is confirmed by the experience of eighteen hundred years. The Societies for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and for the Promotion of Christianity, have indeed again taken the lead, as they did in the first establishment of missions, in improving upon the original scheme, by soliciting the influence and co-operation of the government, and by pursuing measures which will facilitate and accredit the labours of their missionaries. They discovered, and candidly confessed in their Reports, that their preachers and schoolmasters did not succeed to the measure of their expectations; that something was wanting to give the advantage of combination, respectability and union to their efforts, and that recourse must be had to those aids and supports, which are as indispensable in religious, as in all other matters. And we humbly conceive that if other societies also would, in like manner, temper their zeal with a little discretion, and direct their attention to the best means of affording facilities to their missionaries, they would be enabled to render a better account of the immense sums which are placed at their disposal; and instead of publishing reports which contain little more, from year to year, than a repetition of the same pious sentiments, and sanguine expectations, would have it in their power to give some intelligible account of the effects which they are producing. We have carefully read the last Report of the Church Missionary Society, and yet we are really unable to form any accurate calculation of the number of their converts; all that we learn is, that they 'expended upwards of £30,000 between April 1819, and April 1820! that they have two hundred labourers distributed among eight missions; that in these different missions between 9000 and 10,000 children are educated; that many thousand adults hear the glad tidings of salvation, and of these many hundreds make a creditable profession of Christianity.' The vagueness of this statement, added to the fact of there having been twenty converts only made at one of their stations in four years, and of these, all relapsing but *one*, is a sufficient proof both of limited success, and of a material and inherent defect in their regulations, and in the application of their resources. We would submit to them whether their sphere of usefulness would not be considerably enlarged if they would appropriate a greater proportion of their funds to purposes similar to that for which the noble grant of £5000 was lately voted for the use of the Mission College at Calcutta. This institution was originally suggested by the Bishop of Calcutta, under the persuasion that some preparation is necessary both for the missionary and the proselyte, before they can come to a mutual understanding: that the one must be instructed to proceed

proceed with caution, to adapt himself to the circumstances under which he is placed, and to study the predilections and manners of the people upon whom he is to act; while the other must gradually be taught to divest himself of his hereditary prejudices.

The wisdom of such an Institution is obvious. The probationers become familiar with the English language, manners and religion, before any avowed step is taken towards making them Christians, and in fact they are half convinced, before the missionary's duty begins: for though, as the bishop observes, they are not here professedly instructed in Christianity, yet 'it is impossible that they, who, in their childhood, shall have been accustomed to use their minds, can ever afterwards be capable of adopting the absurdities, and reverencing the abominations now proposed to them as truth, and as the acceptable worship of God: and it is hoped that they who have been emancipated from superstition may in time be brought to a knowledge of Christ.'

Should similar plans be generally adopted by missionary associations, there will always be a supply of men duly qualified for propagating the Gospel in India, and distinguished not by their zeal only, but by their learning and attainments. The latter are as necessary as the former; for (we repeat) if missionaries do not possess talents for languages, and the temper and prudence requisite for their undertaking, if they are not well enough acquainted with subjects of history and philosophy to satisfy the inquiries of the curious, all their enthusiasm, and their sense of duty will be insufficient to enable them to gain much advantage over the subtleties and prejudices of the people whom they are employed to convert. A serious impression may be made upon rude and uncultivated savages simply by exhortation and preaching; but many other measures must be resorted to, before we can hope to succeed with those oriental nations who have made considerable advances towards refinement; superstition being infinitely more impregnable than ignorance, and the fables of a popular mythology far more blinding than the darkness of the grossest idolatry.

ART. VIII.—*Notes on the Cape of Good Hope, made during an Excursion in that Colony in the year 1820.* pp. 207. London. 1821.

THE position of this Great Promontory, both with regard to latitude and the illimitable ocean which bathes its eastern and western shores, secures to it a temperature of climate which, if equalled, is certainly not excelled in any part of either hemisphere. Its situation, midway between England and India, is  
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another recommendation in its favour: few ships, we believe, whether going or returning from our oriental dominions, ever pass the Cape without a wish to visit it; and fewer still of those that anchor there, and partake of its glowing skies, the fragrant breezes of its mild evenings, its delicious fruits, and refreshments, ever leave it but with feelings of sincere regret. 'As the major part of its visitors, however,' says the writer of the 'Notes,' remain only a few days for rest and refreshment, it is probable that its defects may be overlooked and its beauties exaggerated.' True: and it is more than probable, we would add, that if a casual visitor, like our modest and ingenuous author, after a few days' residence in Cape Town, and a hasty scamper along the coast, should think fit to publish his 'Notes' and his 'Excursion,' he may fall into the contrary mistake of overlooking its beauties, and exaggerating its defects. That this is very remarkably the case in the present instance, we can have no difficulty in showing.

In justice to the author (who does not give his name) we must observe that many passages of the work before us exhibit a tone of right feeling and good sense, which we cannot but approve; there are, others, however, we are sorry to say, wholly unworthy of a gentleman and a person of education, which the writer appears to be, notwithstanding the blunders in language and logic which he frequently commits, and the 'lame and impotent conclusions' which are always sure to follow his premises whenever he ventures on an argument.

His mistakes are numerous, as might be expected from one who neither understood the language, nor had time or opportunity to make himself acquainted with the manners and sentiments of the people whom he has undertaken to describe. The first of them that calls for censure, and the more loudly as it must have been made before he stirred from Cape Town, is 'that the Hottentots are an idle, worthless people,—whose extinction can hardly be considered as a loss.' Now we know that Sir James Craig, who embodied a regiment of these people, always spoke in the highest terms of their activity, discipline, good order, and cleanliness. Le Vaillant and Mr. Barrow, both of whom lived many months among them, agree in asserting that they had been most undeservedly stigmatized and vilified by the Dutch writers; and Mr. Latrobe, who recently visited all the Moravian establishments, assures us that they had there given the most striking proofs of ingenuity, industry, and neatness, and manifested the most anxious desire to be admitted within the pale of civilized society. It is too much to be told, after this, that 'the Hottentot may be seen regaling himself with the undressed entrails and blood of a sheep, while the partner of his life is picking a bone of carrion

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at his side!' and we will venture to affirm, on our own responsibility, that no such scene ever occurred within the scope of the author's 'Excursion.'

The condition of the slaves in the colony is the next point on which our young visitor has been most egregiously misinformed. They are 'inured,' he says, 'to hardship and spare-living; and the only relaxation which is permitted to them, is a Sunday holiday, when a week of unremitting toil, and the tyranny of an unfeeling master, are all forgot in the tumultuous delight of a dance.' Had the writer lived in a Dutch family instead of a Scotch tavern, he could not have published so erroneous a statement. In no part of the world are slaves treated so well and worked so easily as at Cape Town. The Malay is generally brought up to some handicraft trade, is suffered to hire himself out by the week or the day, and if he brings home to his master a certain moderate sum at the end of the week, all he can earn above it is his own; and he is frequently enabled to purchase his freedom by the money he thus saves. The domestic slaves are generally very numerous, have very little to do, and all know exactly what is required of them. The children have the run of the house and are treated pretty much the same as the children of the master; and the females, crowding round the feet of their mistress, are mostly employed in needlework. So far indeed are the slaves from being subject to 'unremitting toil and tyranny,' that they may rather be described as indolent and pampered. Mr. Semple (many years a merchant at the Cape) describes them as well treated, well clothed and well fed. 'If,' says he, 'now and then an instance be found to the contrary, that affects not the general character: a man may use his slave ill, but the slaves at the Cape are well treated; or he may lodge him badly, but the slaves at the Cape are well lodged; or he may half clothe or half feed him, but the slaves of the Cape are well clothed and fully fed.' What the writer of the 'Notes' means by saying that 'a slave is not permitted to become a Christian at the Cape,' we are as much at a loss to conceive, as we are to comprehend the justice of his inference—'hence he can never marry.' Christianity forms no stepping-stone to marriage here; the Malays, the most valuable and numerous class of slaves, who are all Mahomedans, almost invariably marry; in fact, all who chuse it, marry; and there is no prohibition whatever to their becoming Christians: he is equally loose in denominating the slaves 'a population of blacks,' when more than two-thirds of them are either of a copper colour or little less white than Europeans.\*

\* For many years past not a slave of any description has been imported into the colony; and twenty years hence there will probably not remain a slave within it. The extravagant prices which they formerly bore are gradually diminishing in consequence



Our young traveller is not merely guilty of mistakes, but of gross calumny in speaking of the Dutch inhabitants of Cape Town. It is no excuse to say that he only states what he heard: the gossip of a tap-room is not the most creditable authority, and, at any rate, should not be lightly trusted to the public ear. 'Decency,' he says, 'is seldom openly outraged in the disgraceful manner we daily witness at home, though vice has an unlimited sway in private life.' It may be so, though *he* who lived in the public tavern was not in a condition to know it: but how are we to understand what follows? 'There is more temperance and moderation amongst the female part of the world, *because* a lack of chastity is more a thing of course.' Does this mean that a lack of chastity may be predicted by the external characteristics of temperance and moderation? Or, does the writer set down his words without affixing any determinate sense to them, and without any object but that of stigmatizing those from whom, by his own admission, he received the utmost civility?

'Conjugal fidelity,' he continues, 'is rarely to be met with here. The men have their slave girls, without any disagreeable feelings on the part of their wives; and these again have their *cicisbeos* with the good-will and permission of their husbands.' This is mere slander. If the Dutch ladies at the Cape excel in any one virtue it is that of 'conjugal fidelity;' and their habits are purely domestic. For the truth of this we appeal to the English families who have long been resident there. There were two, or three, we believe, who, shortly after the capture of the colony, made themselves ridiculous by the encouragement which they gave to certain naval and military officers of high rank, and their husbands equally so for suffering it; but we would ask, whether, if there should be found two or three vicious wives and mean-spirited husbands in an English town, the writer would consider himself warranted in asserting that conjugal fidelity was rarely to be met with in England!

Equally slanderous is 'the delicate sort of arrangement,' which, he tells us, 'is worthy of notice,' but which we consider to be too gross to admit into our pages. To prove that the word 'delicacy' may be said to have no place at all in the Dutch Cape nomenclature, he observes that the ceremony of marriage is performed in open church on Sundays, during the hours of public service. 'On such occasions,' he adds, 'men are apt to sneak into church, and sneak out again; but a young lady of the Cape is not satisfied unless she can display her unblushing charms and

of the influx of European labourers, whose superior skill and activity must supersede those of the Malays; and manumission will, we doubt not, take place to a very great extent.

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her wedding dress to the gaze of an unlimited number of spectators.' This foolish observation only proves that the author did not attend his church at home as regularly as he should have done;—the young ladies at the Cape, like young ladies in all other countries, follow the practice which custom has sanctioned, and which he ought to have known is conformable to ancient usage, and to the rubric which directs the parties to appear in the body of the church, and be married 'in the face of the congregation.'

This is followed by a facetious story of a Dutchman engaged to marry an English lady, whose portion was to be paid down on the wedding-day. The bride, the bridegroom and the friends were all assembled and about to proceed to church, when the bridegroom, after pausing a few moments, 'in an attitude of calculation,' advanced towards the father, 'and striking his fist upon the table, broke out into this *delicate* exclamation before the whole party:—"I tell you vat, if I nō get the rix-dollars, I no take the vife." The tale is not very probable: but if it actually happened, it is as absurd as unjust to stigmatize a whole colony with 'a want of delicacy' on account of it. Such stories, in fact, are told of all countries; and one or more of them may be found in every jest-book from Scoggins to Joe Miller.

One word more on the subject of *delicacy*, and we have done with that part of the work which relates to Cape Town.

'Slave girls, when possessed of any personal charms, are an invaluable property. They are sent forth elegantly equipped, and are immediately hired of the owner, either by the month or year, or perhaps purchased altogether by some enamoured admirer. If this property should belong to a lady, the traffic is not considered as indelicate, but an honest source of emolument, which it would be fastidiousness to decline. A married lady, of great respectability, was possessed of a slave girl, whom she had regularly hired to an East India officer by the month; but the girl had the presumption to engage in other amours, and he made a complaint of this impertinent conduct to the mistress in the public dancing assembly, with an intent of having her punished. The lady very composedly told him the fault was his own, that he ought to purchase the girl at once.'—p. 117.

Freed from the gossip of a tavern, our young traveller appears to grow somewhat more cautious in his opinions, and somewhat more correct in his observations. But his qualifications for the latter do not rank very high. As he appears not to have the least knowledge of, or taste for, natural history, without which we hold it impossible that any clear account can be given of an unoccupied or uncultivated country, we do not, of course, look to him for any information on this head; but we have a right to expect that he will make a somewhat accurate use of his

eyes: yet we have an early instance of his carelessness in this respect, in the exaggerated account which he gives of the dreary and barren appearance of the first hundred miles of country beyond the Hottentot Hollands mountains; the whole of which, he says, is 'without any verdure to relieve the view, excepting a species of heath, that shows like tattered rags upon the grey rocks.' Now there is not in the whole colony a tract of country so fertile in most of the finest genera of the shrubby and bulbous-rooted plants of Southern Africa, as that in question; and as to 'a species of heath,' (not to say that the *heath* on the grey rocks was no heath at all,) we can confidently assert that more than a hundred different species of heaths have been collected within the space he mentions. The country, indeed, is but thinly inhabited, for want of water, and we sincerely pity the poor couple whom our traveller met with, and thus describes.

'It was in the delectable country I have above described, that I halted, after a toilsome ride of many hours, at a house, which, to my surprise, I found occupied by an Englishman and his wife. They had been induced to purchase this secluded villa in consequence of an advertisement in the Cape Gazette, which represented it as a beautiful and romantic retirement; and the wife was delighted with the thoughts of a removal from the bustle and solicitude of the world. Poor woman, she imagined, as Johnson said of Savage on his departure for Swansea, "that she should be transported to scenes of flowery felicity, like those which one poet has reflected to another, and had projected a perpetual round of innocent pleasures, of which she suspected no interruption from ignorance and brutality." But a few weeks had convinced her that solitude was another word for wretchedness, and that the rumbling of a hackney coach was music far more congenial than the breathings of the gentle south.'—p. 18.

Having got over the first hundred miles, he admits that the aspect of the country changed for the better; good substantial farm-houses made their appearance, though still thinly scattered; a considerable portion of land was under cultivation; and something like forest trees rose in the ravines of the mountains. The account given of the Dutch boors is, we believe, pretty correct.

'These farmers live without concern; for they have every thing within themselves; their slaves and their sons are their masons, their blacksmiths, their carpenters, wheelwrights, &c.; the produce of the farm affords them a subsistence, which is never luxurious, but always sufficient. They drink their own sour wine; burnt barley is their coffee; and they sometimes make tea of a plant which grows on the hills. There is nothing of neatness to be seen; no attempt at ornament of any kind; no inclosures, unless perhaps round the vineyard or garden. This gives an air of extreme nakedness and wildness to the eye of an European. Their gardens are small, and in bad order, for they

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set little value upon fruit or vegetables of any kind. Pumpkins and water-melons are scattered throughout them, and are almost spontaneous productions. A few potatoes, and perhaps some cabbage, complete their stock of vegetables. Apricots, peaches, and nectarines grow wild, without any care; but they are not plentiful, for they are not articles either of use or luxury.—p. 19.

He is wrong, however, in stating, that these boors viewed 'with the utmost jealousy the several European adventurers, who have purchased tracts of land among them;' and that 'with still greater animosity and alarm do they contemplate the extensive plan of colonization now about to be acted upon by the British government.' To their credit be it spoken, and we state it on the best authority, these simple people, ignorant, if the writer pleases, as well as those far beyond the limits of his 'excursion,' behaved with the utmost kindness to the emigrants, and cheerfully afforded every assistance in their power to the numerous families travelling to their respective places of location. The Dutch boors in fact are not now what they were a quarter of a century ago, when Barrow travelled among them. He was the first Englishman they had seen; he visited them in an official character, and when they were in a state of rebellion against the government; and equally without religious instruction and legal restraint. Since that time, however, many English regiments have been among them; and they have fought together against the common enemy, the Kaffers. Churches have been erected, and ministers appointed to perform divine service. A committee of the members of the Court of Justice makes an annual circuit, and they are become good and loyal subjects. They may perhaps, as the author says, 'have viewed the landing of a thrashing machine with as much amazement as the inhabitants of Troy did the wooden horse;' but we must have some better authority than his before we believe that 'the English, as well as the Dutch, opposed its introduction,' and that 'some obstruction was secretly introduced into the machinery of one belonging to the former to prevent its working:'—because the use of it could interfere with no one's business or benefit, and because it at once furnished a remedy for the universal complaint of sand being mixed with the Cape wheat, in consequence of its being trodden out by cattle.

The spleen of the writer, whilst it seldom spares the men, appears more especially directed against the female part of society, which, it would seem, is no better a hundred miles up the country than in Cape Town. 'The morality,' he says, 'of the female part of the family is such as nature furnishes them with. They are removed from all opportunities of religious instruction; and as they cannot be supposed chaste by *instinct*, a pretty plain

inference may be safely drawn.' Our young traveller must learn caution. *Instinct is a great matter*; and before he limits its power, we would advise him to look after its meaning. He does them, however, the justice to admit, that 'there is nothing coarse or offensive in their address, or manners,' and that 'most of them read, though their studies are confined to the occasional lecture in the great family bible.' The bible, then, is not the book which our author would recommend for the study of 'morality,' or for gaining 'religious instruction!' To say the truth, he does not seem to have sought them there very diligently himself:—but he graciously informs these ill-judging females, that 'the lessons of intellectual refinement,' (p. 103.) are, according to his notions, to be derived rather from 'Tom Jones and Humphrey Clinker,' which, he seems to lament, 'have not yet found their way into the 'subscription reading-room,' or the 'circulating library' of the Cape.

But enough of the Dutch inhabitants of the colony. Our chief interest at present is directed towards the English settlers, who have recently emigrated; and whose first labours, we grieve to say, have nearly proved abortive. Nothing could be finer or more promising than the wheat crops appeared to be in the full ear, when a blight or mildew, such as was never known by the oldest inhabitant to attack wheat in that country, scathed the whole harvest over an extent of many hundred square miles. Still however the Indian corn, beans and potatoes were spared, on which they depended for relief; but these hopes were also blasted. A violent storm in the early part of last January destroyed every garden and plantation, so that the new settlers must necessarily have been in the most wretched state, had not the government provided stores of grain from the harvest of the preceding year, and other necessities, with which they have been supplied at the most reasonable rates. The numerous live stock of the calumniated boors has also contributed to their relief; and has been offered in the most liberal manner, and at a rate so reasonable, that we do not suppose beef and mutton will cost them more than a penny or three-half-pence the pound. The whole sea-coast of the colony was well known to abound with various kinds of excellent fish; but no means were adopted by the boors to take them; fortunately however a number of Deal fishermen had gone out with the emigrants and settled on the shore of Algoa Bay; where they found no difficulty in catching as much fish as they pleased: of this, many waggon loads were daily carried inland for the use of the new settlers. This body of useful men, we understand, have already commenced the building of a small town, to which they have given the name of Little

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Deal; and the report of their success has induced other parties from the Cinque-ports to proceed and join their fortunate brethren in Africa.

We never for a moment doubted, from the knowledge which we possessed of the country and the climate, that all those emigrants, who set out with a small capital, common prudence, and industrious habits, and who had no further views for the present than those of deriving a comfortable subsistence for themselves and their families by honest labour, would do well; find themselves perfectly satisfied with the prospects which their new country held out, and ultimately meet with an ample reward for their industry and skill. It is not the failure of one year, even though that year was unfortunately the first, that can make the least alteration of our opinion in this respect; and so little indeed do the settlers themselves feel discouraged by this unexpected calamity, that they are redoubling their exertions for the next year's crop, convinced, from the state of the grain when the evil befel them, that the ground requires only tillage bountifully to repay their labour.

The prospects of the industrious emigrant may, we think, be summed up in a few words. He will procure with a small capital all the necessaries and some of the luxuries of life from his own land; and he will enjoy a clear sky, a pure air, and an unexceptionable climate. He may, without expense, hunt and shoot over an unlimited extent of country; and improve the government grant, so as to render it capable of supporting his sons and his sons' sons:—but he must not expect to realize a fortune in money from his surplus produce. The time however will, in all probability, arrive, when an active coasting trade (already begun) and an unfettered commerce will open to his family the avenues of wealth; but he must not be impatient.

These advantages, however, we repeat, must be confined to those classes of emigrants who have either a capital sufficient to stock their grant of land, who can command in their own persons or in their families a fund of agricultural labour, or who have been brought up to some useful mechanical profession. But numbers, we lament to say, have taken advantage of the liberal offers of government, and gone out as settlers, who are every way disqualified from helping themselves, and, what is still more to be regretted, have seduced others (as unprofitable as themselves) by illusive hopes and promises to follow their example. The writer of the 'Notes' was present when a party of this description arrived; 'they were,' he says, 'half-pay officers of the army and navy, tradesmen, clerks in government situations, and not (what they should have been) practical farmers. The labouring men,' he adds, 'have too generally been picked up about large towns;

they had more the look of manufacturers than ploughmen; and I thought the proportion of tradesmen, or those exercising the mechanic arts, too great. Thus there were engravers, brass letter founders, musical instrument makers, &c.' These, to be sure, are not exactly the sort of people whose talents are likely to be useful in an infant settlement. One person, it appears, had brought with him a printing press, paper, compositors, and all the paraphernalia required for getting up a *Weekly Courant*; another had furnished himself with a sedan chair; and that no species of absurdity might be wanting, a family, from the metropolis, was accompanied by two teachers of the pianoforte, and a poet!

Our author seems to find fault with the assortment of ministers of the Gospel sent out to the new settlement. 'In addition,' he says, 'to the regular clergymen provided, there was a most copious sprinkling of preachers to grace the new settlement with their eloquence and disperse the light of God:—' such ignorant pretenders,' he continues, 'are not likely to diffuse the mild lessons of Christianity, or to benefit the cause of social order.' He has not proved their 'ignorance,' and from the general irreverence of his language, we are not disposed to rate his assertions very highly on subjects of this serious nature. We have ourselves, indeed, frequently expressed our doubts of the benefits conferred on uncivilized nations by Evangelical missionaries of this description; at the same time we think that some of them have been incidentally useful in making geographical discoveries; and we are not sure that we may not be hereafter indebted to them for a further knowledge of South Africa.

The English, the writer says, are, to a man, clamorous for the introduction of our own laws; and he thinks it a fair subject of complaint that, in an English colony, all law proceedings should be held in the Dutch language, and that an Englishman should be heard only through the medium of an interpreter. This is also our opinion. It is a subject, indeed, on which we cannot help thinking that we have been most criminally negligent, on every principle of political economy. The Romans were wiser; at least, they were more alive to the advantages of introducing their own language in all their colonies and conquests. It is, indeed, utterly impossible to amalgamate two different nations without first establishing a community of language; and we do not see how that submission to the laws and that obedience to the restraints which, as a governing nation, we may deem it expedient to exact from the colonists can be expected, when perhaps they are incapable of comprehending the full import of what they are called on to obey: or how the English settlers themselves can regulate their conduct according to laws different from their own, and in a language



guage which they cannot understand. Where the governors use one language and the governed another, there can be no cordial co-operation, no community of sentiment; they will for ever remain two distinct people. Our subjects of Canada (by allowing them to use the French language in all questions of law and government) are as much French at this day as when we conquered the country. The same may be said of the Dutch at the Cape, at Demerara and Essequibo; and Trinidad is peopled by Spaniards, governed by Spanish laws, and using the Spanish language. In granting them their own laws we perhaps act rightly; but it is neither right nor politic to suffer a foreign language to exclude our own from our own colonies.

Let it not be supposed that we would recommend any violent change, or that any violence, indeed, is necessary, to induce a colony to adopt the language of the nation under whose authority it has fallen. The bulk of mankind is ready enough under all circumstances to perceive and to follow its own interests. Make it the interest of the colonists to learn the language of their conquerors, and they will need no other spur. Give them their laws if you will, but let these laws be administered in the language of those who have to execute them. Let all the proceedings of the courts of justice, all deeds, bonds and other securities, all conveyance of property, all requests and memorials to the governors, be written in the language of the governing power, and make the knowledge of that language an indispensable condition for office or employment, and the difficulty will speedily vanish. As it is, most of the Dutch have a smattering of English; and if the law proceedings and the correspondence of the colonial secretary's office were once confined to this language, all ranks would very soon find it their interest to perfect themselves in it. To this end the establishment of a public library at the Cape may essentially contribute; and in this a beginning has been made. A collection of Greek and Latin classics, and of French, German and Dutch books, together with a considerable sum of money, has been left by a German merchant for this purpose. The government and the inhabitants, much to their credit, have enlarged the funds; and we have great pleasure in mentioning, from our own knowledge, that very considerable sums of money have been and are intended annually to be remitted to England, for the purchase of English books to add to this library.

We consider, then, the introduction of the English language into our colonies as far more important than that of the English laws, and, at any rate, entitled to precedence. At the same time it is natural that British-born subjects should feel an anxious desire to be amenable only to those laws under which they were born.

born. There is, however, a little inconsistency in the 'clamours' of the new settlers. They complain (the writer of the 'Notes' says) that 'impartial justice is not to be obtained, and that there is a leaning to the side of the Dutch;' especially when any of the suitors happen to be related to the members of the Court of Justice, (which must frequently happen in a place where family connections are so very extensive,) and are therefore desirous of establishing the trial by jury—forgetting apparently that the chance of justice is greater when the verdict depends on a *majority* of half-a-dozen judges, than on the *unanimity* of a dozen jurymen of the same country, (as they generally would be,) and having the same connections as the judges.

Any grievances alleged to arise out of the Dutch laws we consider as ideal. The criminal code, the writer says and says truly, is remarkable for its lenity: while in civil litigations no pains are spared by the Judges of the Court to prevail on the parties to compromise their disputes; and even when they proceed to a hearing the expenses are trifling in comparison with those of the English Courts. All the regulations of the colony, with regard to the transfer of property and the tenure of land, are highly favourable to the English settler. There are no bad titles to estates at the Cape; and no risk of being taken-in, as in America, by purchasing those which may be mortgaged; as all are registered in the Colonial Secretary's Office; and every sale or transfer is noted upon the chart of the estate, so that at a glance the incumbrances on the property may be ascertained. In short, there is no part of the world where the buyer of fixed property has so many advantages as at the Cape of Good Hope.

We mentioned in a former Article (No. XLIII.) on the subject of the Cape, that the three great staples of produce were wool, wheat and wine. The country indeed is most admirably suited for sheep; in climate it approaches nearest to Spain, and its heathy hills are probably not very different from the sierras of the European peninsula. The cross of the Merino has succeeded beyond expectation, and the wool sent home, in its unassorted state, has fetched an unusual high price in the London market.

The heaviest wheat that has yet been shown in Mark Lane was brought from the Cape, and was probably raised from land which had never been manured: labour and expense of this kind are rarely resorted to where the ground can be irrigated; and in such situations crops succeed crops regularly every year. A Dutch boor, in fact, never thinks of a farm-yard in which to keep his cattle and collect manure; his straw is trampled to dust in treading out the grain, and scattered by the winds; and in those distant parts, where it is deemed necessary to bring the sheep and cattle home

home in order to protect them from the wolves and hyenas, they are turned into a pen or craal surrounded by a wall of clay, or more frequently by the dried branches of the thorny mimosa. Here the dung accumulates, sometimes to the height of the eaves of the dwelling; in winter becoming a deep mire; in summer pulverized by the heat of the sun and tainting the air; for the purposes of cultivation it is never thought of.

The Cape wine has acquired, as Dame Quickly says, *an ill name*; and it has, we fear, deserved it; more especially since the Colonial government thought it expedient to create a wine-taster and give him a deputy. Whether in consequence of the appointment of these two gentlemen, or in spite of them, we will not take upon ourselves to say, but such is the trash, which for some time past has been poured into this country from the Cape, that, low as the duties are, many of the wines will not command a price to cover them. Nothing could be more impolitic than thus to disgust the best, perhaps the only market the colonists can ever hope to find. The choicest Cape wines have not many advocates. There is, as we formerly observed, a villainous flavour in all of them, which we attributed, justly, as we think, to the clayey nature of the soil. In this respect, the new settlement will have greatly the advantage, as the eastern part of the colony possesses an unbounded range of fine lime-stone knolls, unknown in the old settlements, and particularly adapted to the cultivation and perfection of the vine.

We mean not however to confine the staple articles of produce to wheat, wine, and wool. Indian corn, tobacco, oil, flax, and hemp if thought necessary, all kinds of fruits and culinary vegetables, may be raised to any amount in the various situations of this extensive country. The coast-fishery offers a never-failing source of emolument to those who know how to conduct it skilfully; in a word, so numerous are the advantages that present themselves to our view, that we have no hesitation in saying that, in no great length of time, the Cape of Good Hope will be considered as a place in which it will not be deemed unfortunate to procure an establishment.

With the impression on our minds of the value of the Cape settlement as a territorial possession, and wholly independent of its political importance with reference to the safety of our oriental dominions, we cannot help thinking that it would be highly expedient to extend the limits of the colony to the northward; being well assured that so fine a country, so advantageously situated for carrying on a commerce with the rest of the world, will not remain long unoccupied. Foreign nations, it is well known, are looking out for suitable places for establishments on the

the coast of Africa; and it would neither be safe nor agreeable to find them planted in the immediate rear of this important settlement. We have now a line of coast extending five hundred miles, without a single harbour except the Knysna, the entrance of which is narrow and dangerous; the winds, however, are perfectly steady and blow off the land for six months of the year, and the anchorage is generally good.

Very little is known of any part of the eastern coast of Africa beyond the present limits of the Cape; and nothing at all of those portions of it which have had the misfortune of falling into the hands of the Portuguese. Slaves and gold dust are the only objects that possess any attraction for this 'Faithful nation;' and if they really have any information concerning the interior, not a syllable of it is suffered to transpire. Of the long line of country between our colony and the Portuguese settlements, our only knowledge is derived from a journey made by some Dutch boors many years ago, in search of the wreck of the Grosvenor East India ship. They found the whole country extremely beautiful, well wooded, and watered by a multitude of streams issuing from a chain of mountains parallel to the coast, many of which were not fordable. The extent of this intermediate slip of land cannot be less than ten thousand square miles, which would at once afford present subsistence and open a source of future wealth to myriads of industrious families.

If it be objected that this country is already in possession of the Kaffers, we shall only observe, that the party above mentioned scarcely saw a human being in the whole of their journey; while the plains were covered with antelopes, and the woods full of lions, elephants and rhinoceroses; so numerous indeed were these animals in every part of their route, that they might be truly said to be the possessors of the country; the Kaffers having taken up their abode on the plains behind the great ridge of mountains, of which we shall shortly have an account from the pen of Mr. Campbell, the greatest traveller that has yet appeared in Southern Africa. The argument of prior possession might be applied to all the colonies held by European powers; and if it had prevailed, some of the finest spots of the creation would be at this moment unwholesome and unprofitable wastes.

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ART. IX.—1. *Report from the Select Committee to whom the several Petitions complaining of the Depressed State of the Agriculture of the United Kingdom were referred. Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed, 18th June, 1821.* pp. 56. London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones.

2. *Essay*

2. *Essay on the Application of Capital to Land, with Observations showing the Impolicy of any great Restriction of the Importation of Corn, and that the Bounty of 1680 did not lower the Price of it.* By a Fellow of University College, Oxford. pp. 69. London. 1815.

CONSIDERING the extent of the subjects referred to the Agricultural Committee, the eagerness with which they have been discussed—an eagerness not disproportioned to their importance—and the practical weight, which the talents and station of many of the members of the Committee must give to the Report, we have been anxious, at any sacrifice, not to let a Number elapse before we gave some account of its contents. For this purpose we have been forced to consider the Report without the Minutes of Evidence, which do not seem likely to be published before this Article is in the press, and to write somewhat more rapidly than we could have wished on so difficult a subject. The first we have found a less inconvenience than we expected. The Report consists so much of inferences from acknowledged principles and facts, and is so little founded on information derived from the witnesses, that it may well be treated, as we have treated it, as an independent work. The second we have felt severely; but we hope that in the wide circulation of this Journal our errors will not escape detection, and that we shall be able, when we recur to the subject, (for it is one that must often engage our attention,) to correct those which are important.

The branch of political economy which is the principal subject of this Report, the effect of the employment of capital in obtaining raw agricultural produce, is one on which writers and speakers are in general guilty of so many errors, and seem so little aware of their ignorance, that we may, perhaps, be forgiven if we endeavour to explain at some length the mistake, by which those errors appear to us to have been principally occasioned. That mistake consists in applying to the employment of capital in obtaining raw produce, the maxims which regulate the employment of capital in manufacturing raw produce, or, to use a more convenient though less accurate expression, in considering agriculture and manufactures as governed by the same rules. They are in fact the subjects of one fundamental distinction, which opposes them to one another in all their details, and renders almost every proposition, which is true as to one, false as to the other. The distinction may be thus stated: every additional capital employed in manufactures produces a greater proportionate net return, while every additional capital employed in agriculture produces a smaller proportionate net return; or thus—every additional quantity of manufactured produce

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is obtained, so far as the manufacturing it alone is concerned, at a smaller respective expense, while every additional quantity of agricultural produce is obtained at a greater respective expense.

The first branch of the distinction is too obvious to require more than to be stated. It is the necessary consequence of the division of labour. The second, though less obvious, will perhaps appear equally clear when we consider that the soil of every country is of various degrees of fertility, and that the most fertile portions of it are the first occupied; that these portions are of small comparative extent, and that every additional quantity of agricultural produce must be obtained, either by the cultivation of lands less fertile than those formerly occupied, or by applying additional capital to the lands already in cultivation. In the first case the net return is obviously diminished;—and that the net return is diminished when additional capital is applied to land already in cultivation, notwithstanding the improvement in skill and in division of labour with which it is applied, appears from the mere fact that lands less fertile than the very best are cultivated; for if fresh capital could be applied to the more fertile land already in cultivation, with the same return as was afforded by the capital previously employed on them, no man would employ it (necessarily to less advantage) in the cultivation of less fertile land. The principle, however, is now so generally admitted that we will not detain our readers with a more detailed proof of it. That proof they will find, where the principle first was stated, in the ‘*Essay on the Application of Capital to Land*,’ with which we have headed our Article—a work of which Mr. West, a barrister, is now, we believe, known to be the author, and which contains more valuable and more original instruction on the subject than we have ever seen condensed into so small a space. We ought, however, when we refer our readers to Mr. West, to observe that we think him wrong in absolutely excluding the competition of capitalists from the causes which diminish the profits of capital, and in his supposition that tithes have a constant tendency to increase upon rents; and also in his view of the effect which a diminished agricultural capital would have upon rent. We say this, not intending at present to engage in an argument, however interesting, for which we have not room, but to avoid any inference which might have been drawn from our silence.

The effect of the two opposite rules, which we have pointed out, may be traced in the variation to which the price of every commodity that we buy is subject. So far as the price of any commodity consists of the value of the raw material, of which it is composed, it has a tendency to rise as the consumption increases; so far as it consists of the alteration in form, which that material has undergone, it has a tendency to fall. The ore of which a watch-spring

is formed makes so small a part of its value that we may expect to see watch-springs of the same quality cheaper and cheaper as the demand for them increases; but the raw material of beef, whether we consider it as consisting of the beast, or of the grass and hay that has been employed in feeding it, makes so large a part of its value, and the alteration in form produced by cutting up and cooking it, so small, that an increased price seems the necessary consequence of an increased demand. No improvement of skill, or of division of labour, in butchery or cooking, will ever make roast beef as cheap in England as in South America. The two rules are sometimes so balanced that at different stages of the manufacture, the one, and then the other, preponderates; and the coarser the manufacture the more it is subject to the first rule, the finer it is, to the second. The raw material of cloth is dearer in England now than it was 100 years ago, and dearer than it is now in Russia; and perhaps the coarsest cloths might have been more cheaply manufactured in England then, or might be in Russia now, than by our present manufacturers. But the finer the cloth, the cheaper it will become in proportion to that which is coarse, and we have no doubt that an English lady's habit now does not cost her half the price which it would have cost Queen Ann, or would cost the Empress of Russia. It is probable that a person acquainted with the history and details of the manufacture might be able to point out the stages at which, in the preparation of the same piece of cloth, improvement of skill gradually compensates, and at last overbalances, increased expense of material. Supposing the wool to be 20 per cent. dearer, the cloth, in the rough state in which it leaves the loom, may bear the same price as it did 100 years ago: in its finished state it may be 20 per cent. cheaper. We may apply the same reasoning to man, considered as a commodity. So far as the commodities he consumes consist of manufactures he becomes cheaper; so far as they consist of raw produce he becomes dearer. His clothing and furniture belong principally to the first class; his food to the second. The real wages of labour, therefore, so far as they consist of food, will have a tendency to rise, as respects the employer, though they remain stationary, or fall, as respects the labourer. Though he is not better, or is even worse, fed, his food will cost more; but so far as they consist of clothing and furniture they have a tendency to rise, as respects the labourer, though they remain stationary, or fall, as respects the employer. The clothing of a respectable day labourer, and of his wife and children, and the linen and bedding and household furniture of his cottage, including, perhaps, 'the wooden clock that clicks behind the door,' and a Bible and Prayer Book, the Pilgrim's Progress, and two or three other books on a shelf near it, though  
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saved without any great sacrifice out of his wages, would have been worth a little fortune in the reign of Henry VIII. But as food is the principal commodity consumed by the ordinary labourer, his employer is on the whole a loser, and the ordinary labourer is a commodity constantly increasing in price. The proprietor of 500 acres cannot maintain double the retinue which followed his ancestor 300 years ago, though he has ten times the amount of all other comforts and luxuries. But the gentleman labourer is a consumer of manufactures; he does not consume more raw produce than the ordinary labourer—perhaps not so much. What he wants are books and clothes, and those decencies of life which enable him to mix with the opulent class of society, and acquire their tone and feelings. He is a commodity, therefore, constantly diminishing in price. The fees of physicians have not been raised since the reign of Charles II. when money was treble or quadruple its present value. You may get a clerk in a public office, with an education and feelings equal, perhaps, to those of the head of his department, at a less expense than that of your butler. You may not only get him, but the instant the vacancy is known there will be a hundred applicants, and the privilege of filling it will be a valuable piece of patronage.

But, to return from this long digression: though we think we may consider the principle of this distinction as acknowledged, there are many deductions from it, which do not appear to us to be generally perceived. Among the most important are the following.

In all manufactured articles of the same kind, the natural price, so far as the manufacturer is concerned, that is, the price which replaces the capital, which he has expended in their manufacture, including the wages he has paid to his workmen, with the average profit of capital at that time and place, is the same. And their natural price is their market price; with this exception, that if the natural price should, as to some of them, sink, the market price will sink too, and draw with it the market price of those other articles of the same kind of which the natural price has not sunk. But on the contrary, the natural price of each individual article of raw agricultural produce of the same kind, is different, and the market price and the natural price are never the same; except as to the individual article, which has been produced at the greatest expense, with the natural price of which the market price of the whole roughly coincides.

To express the distinction more concisely, the price of manufactures, as manufactures, is governed generally by the cost of production, and only as an exception, by supply and demand.

The price of raw produce is governed by supply and demand, and only

only as an exception, by the cost of production. An increased demand will eventually sink the former and raise the latter.

We will endeavour to illustrate both propositions somewhat in detail. Suppose the raw material, of which a particular sort of knife is formed, to cost the cutler *5d.*—the expense of manufacturing it, supposing him to manufacture 1000, to be *5d.* more—and the average profit of capital to be 10 per cent. Every such knife will be at the same natural price, *11d.* But suppose the expense of manufacturing 5000, to be  $4\frac{1}{2}d.$  a piece; and that, by reducing the price of his knives one farthing, he can extend his sale from 1000 to 5000, it will clearly be his interest to do so. The natural price of the knives made by him subsequently to this extension of sale, will be, within a minute fraction,  $10\frac{1}{2}d.$ , that of those made by him previously, and still made by others, being *11d.* Until the example of our supposed manufacturer has been followed by others, he will be able to get a monopoly price of  $10\frac{3}{4}d.$  for his subsequently made knives, to which the price of his previously made knives, and that of those made by others, must be accommodated. His capital therefore will return him  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. while that of the other persons engaged in the same trade will only return them  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. But it is impossible that this state of things should continue. Before our cutler could quintuple his knife-making, he must have withdrawn part of his capital from other branches of the cutlery business. Among his brother cutlers, some will follow his example, and by diminishing the price of their knives, endeavour still further to increase their sale, while others will withdraw their capital from knife-making, now become (at the old prices) an unprofitable business, and employ it in an increased manufacture of those articles which the makers of knives have relinquished. The same consequences will re-appear. The increased capital in these branches will yield an increased proportionate return, the advantage of which will at first go to the cutlers, and the capital in their business will yield a profit above the general average; until the competition, occasioned by the general influx into that trade of the disengaged capital of the country, reduces their profits to the common level, and the whole advantage is felt, in diminution of price, by the public.

We hope our readers will forgive us the roughness of these details, into which we have been led by an attempt to show practically something like the method, by which the market price of manufacturing industry is adjusted, and its tendency to follow the natural price in the fall occasioned by the increasing division of labour. Every fall in price, the demand continuing the same, is occasioned by some manufacturer's underselling his neighbours; and his motive to do so is always to employ a larger capital in that specific manu-

facture, with an increased division of labour, and consequently an increased net profit.

We will now endeavour practically to illustrate our proposition as to raw produce. Suppose a man to inherit £ 20,000 in money, invested in manufactures, and returning, as the average profits of capital at that time and place, 10 per cent. and 1000 acres, the first 100 highly fertile, and each successive 100 diminishing in fertility one tenth, but the worst capable of producing corn, with a great deal of dressing, and consequently of some use, as natural pasture, without any. Were he to employ £ 500 in cultivating, in the least expensive manner, his most fertile 100 acres, the natural price of his corn, that is the price which would replace his £ 500, with 10 per cent. profit, would probably be not one fourth of the market price. But he would have no temptation to sell it at that price: for the motive to sell at a less price than the market price, that of employing a larger capital at an increased net profit, would not exist. He would sell at the market price, and instead of a profit of 10, get perhaps a profit of 100 per cent. The next year we will suppose him to employ an additional £ 500 on the 100 acres of the next rank in fertility. The produce being smaller in proportion, the natural price would be nearer to the market price, he would obtain on his £ 500, only 90 per cent. The next year we will suppose him to employ another £ 500, not perhaps in the cultivation of a third 100 acres, but in additional cultivation of his first. This additional £ 500 would yield him a still less net return than the last, perhaps 85 per cent.—the next year he perhaps would take in his third 100 acres at 80 per cent.—the next year employ another £ 500 on his second 100 acres at 75 per cent.—and we can conceive him in this manner going on, both his gross and his net return increasing in amount, but the net constantly bearing a less proportion to the gross, till he reached a point at which his land, remaining uncultivated, was so barren, and his land already in cultivation had received so much capital, that the additional corn produced, by bringing into cultivation the former, or by applying additional capital to the latter, would at the market price only replace the £ 500 employed in raising it, with 10 per cent. profit. At this point, the natural price and the market price coincide. The proprietor might employ two additional sums of £ 500 each on his land with a profit of 10 per cent. The one in additional cultivation of his land, already in cultivation, the other in breaking up the barren land still uncultivated. The first he will probably do, by transferring to it the least productive or most transferable £ 500 of his manufacturing capital. The other he will not do, for he would only obtain the same profit as his £ 500 previously gave him as manufacturing capital, and would lose the advantage which the land gave

gave him as natural pasture. The rest of his capital he will retain in manufactures, until a diminution in the profits of manufacturing industry, or an increased price of corn, occasioned by the demands of an increased population, gives him a motive for investing new capital in the cultivation of his land already in cultivation, and of breaking up a portion of his uncultivated land, with a return, equal in the first instance to the average profit of capital, and in the second, to that profit, and to the advantages which he derived from the land in its uncultivated state.

The point which we have supposed our proprietor to have reached, when he ceased to increase his agricultural investment, is that at which his whole land and his whole manufacturing capital would be most profitably employed. To this point cultivation is always intended to go, for if it were to go less far, a portion of capital would be employed in manufactures, which might be more profitably employed on the land—and at this point it is always intended to stop—for were it to go farther, a portion of capital would be employed on the land, which might be more profitably employed in manufactures.

And if we suppose the proportion of land to manufacturing capital prodigiously increased, the periods much longer, and the profits of manufacturing capital at first much higher, and gradually diminishing with its increased abundance, and with the increased expense of obtaining raw produce, and that diminution, together with the growing demands of a population increasing in numbers and wealth, occasioning each successive investment in the land, this is the picture, not of an individual, but of a nation.

But let us suppose the same course as before run by two individuals instead of one, and that the proprietor of the land is one person, and the proprietor of the capital another. It is clear that the landed proprietor will not permit the capitalist to obtain from his land more than the average profit of capital. When the first £500 returns a net profit of £500, he will allow the capitalist to retain £50, being as much as he could have made by any other investment, and demand the remaining £450, being the surplus profit produced by the investment, for having afforded the land, out of which the whole £500 was gained; and he will obtain his demand, because if the supposed capitalist would not give it, somebody else would. Out of the £450 profit produced by the second £500, he will demand and obtain £400. And out of the £400 produced by the third £500, though employed on land already in cultivation, he will obtain £350, and so on for each successive investment of capital, always leaving the capitalist the £50 profit, which he would have made in any other investment of capital, and taking all the surplus profit himself. But the last £500 invested by the capitalist

would produce only £50; and there being no surplus, the landed proprietor would receive nothing for having permitted its investment. The sums thus received by the landed proprietor are, of course, what is called rent. They are the surplus profit obtained from the investment of capital in land over that obtained from its investment in any other business; and they are occasioned by each portion of raw agricultural produce being raised at a different expense, and each portion, except that raised at the greatest expense, selling at a monopoly price, the difference between which price, and the natural price, is taken by the proprietor of the land, in return for the privilege of using it.

We shall perhaps best show the importance of keeping steadily in view the true nature of rent, by a reference to some of the errors which have arisen from a neglect of it. One of the principal of these consists in attributing the whole difficulty, which the British finds in competing with the foreign grower, to the exorbitant rents of our landlords. The first contest must lie between the growers of that British corn and that foreign corn which are respectively grown at the greatest expense, including, as to the foreign corn, the expense of carriage. But the corn grown at the greatest expense is that grown by an application of capital, for the privilege of which application the grower pays no rent. Rent therefore cannot enter into its price—and were the landlord to remit the whole of his rent, that price would not be altered, nor could the grower compete better with his foreign rival than before.—While the importation lasts, the only remedy is that which the grower himself must apply, the removal of that portion of capital which has ceased to return the average profit of capital: and this he will do, notwithstanding any reduction of the rent, which he has paid in respect of his other capital. It is true that the landlord might make the retaining of the whole of the existing capital on the land, the condition on which he remitted the rent, on that part of it which paid rent: and it might be worth the tenant's while to comply with the condition; but it never could be worth the landlord's to impose it.

To the same cause may be traced the use of a term which has occasioned so much petitioning and legislation—a remunerating price. In its proper sense the remunerating price of any thing is its natural price—the price which replaces the capital employed in its production with the average profit of capital at the same time and place. In this sense the remunerating price of every quarter of wheat may differ from that of every other, according to the infinite varieties of soil, situation, mode of cultivation, and weather. But the agriculturists add that it must likewise repay the rent, which has been paid for the land on which it has been raised. If

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our reasonings be correct, it is clear that no corn can ever pay rent, which has not previously paid a remunerating price to the grower—for rent is the excess of price above that remunerating price. But that is not what the agriculturist means by rent. He means the actual sum of money which each individual tenant has agreed to pay to each individual landlord. We are forced to answer that it is impossible to form any calculation in which so vague a term is to be admitted—a term depending on the providence or improvidence—the harshness, or negligence, or partiality of all the tenants and landlords in the kingdom. The *real* or *mean rent*, the surplus profit obtained by the investment of capital in land over other investments of capital, is the only standard by which the conventional rent, except in individual cases, can be estimated. It is to this standard that it is always meant to be adjusted; never of course with complete success—for the real rent must fluctuate from year to year, and even from month to month—it must vary with all the accidents of weather, and the success or failure of every bargain: but as the landlord is anxious not to receive less, and the tenant not to pay more, the real and the conventional rent, though never for an instant the same, will at the long run pretty nearly coincide. If then by rent we mean the real rent, that, wherever it exists, presupposes a remunerating price. And what is a remunerating price will be a question as much depending on the accidental circumstance of every different quarter of corn, and as incapable of a general answer, as before. If, on the other hand, we mean conventional rent, and conventional rent as differing from real rent, then a remunerating price will be an expression still more vague. To the variations of soil and climate we shall have to add those of human conduct, and of human conduct, by the supposition itself, governed by mistake, for it is only through a mistake, in the landlord or the tenant, that the conventional rent can differ from the real rent. Were a farmer with £10,000 to lay it out in cultivating the shingles of Eastbourn, or the rocks of Dartmoor, or were he to turn Bond Street or Grosvenor Square into corn-fields, or even to employ the whole of his capital in the experiment how far the produce of ten fertile acres could be carried; one hundred, or five hundred guineas, a quarter might not be a remunerating price. But were a lease of 10,000 fertile acres to be granted him at 5s. per acre, it is probable that he would be well remunerated by 10s. or 15s. a quarter. Nothing but experience could convince us that legislation, intended to be permanent, has been attempted on data such as these.

We have observed that there is a portion of corn, that raised at the greatest expense, of which the price roughly coincides with the cost of production. And it has been said, that as it is the price of

this portion which governs that of all the remainder, the price of that remainder is likewise governed by the cost of production. But first, when we say that the price of any thing is governed by the cost of production, we mean the cost of its own production,—not of the production of any thing else. And, secondly, to say that it is the price of this last portion of corn, which governs that of the remainder, is to mistake the effect for the cause. The price of other corn does not rise because the last portion has been produced at a greater expense, but the last portion is produced, because the proportion of demand to supply has previously occasioned such a rise in the price of the corn already produced, that additional capital laid out in producing additional corn, at a greater proportionate expense, will return the average profit of capital. Corn does not become dear because a portion is raised at a great expense, but a portion is raised at a great expense because corn has already become dear.

The last step in agriculture will always be the application of fresh capital to land already in cultivation. The corn produced by it is intended to sell at its natural price: and this price must previously have been, and must continue to be, that of all other corn, or the last application of capital would not have been made,—would have been greater,—or would not be continued. And it is in this sense only, (and it must be acknowledged to be very obscurely pointed out,) that the corn raised at the greatest expense can be said to fix, or govern, or regulate the price of all other corn: not as an efficient cause, for it must always be subsequent in time, but as an index. All corn of the same quality will sell for the same price: and, therefore, if you find the natural price of the corn which is produced, and continued to be produced, at the greatest expense, you will find the market price both of that corn and of all other corn. But this index will be correct only in a stationary country, a market neither rising nor falling. If the market price be rising from an increased demand, it will outrun the natural price even of the corn produced at the greatest expense. A constantly increasing price, followed by a constantly increasing production, may continue for a long period of years, during no part of which will the natural and market price of any portion of corn coincide. This is the state of an advancing country. But if the wealth or number of the consumers diminishes, the diminution of price may outrun the diminution of production. Both may diminish: but from the difficulty, often the impossibility, of removing some portions of capital from the land, the supply may not diminish so rapidly as the demand. Every year there will be less produced, and the expensiveness of the most expensive corn will be every year less, but the fall of price may be still greater. This is the state of a declining country.



country. And as every country is, in fact, either advancing or declining, (for the few which are said to be stationary can be so only by the compensation of successive periods of advance and decline,) there is no country in which the cost of the production of any portion of corn can be said correctly, even to indicate, much less to govern, or regulate, or fix, that of the rest.

Our readers will perceive that we are opposed on this point, as well as on some others, to Mr. Ricardo. We trust that distinguished economist will believe that we differ from him with great reluctance, and, as far as there is doubt as to matters of science, with great hesitation: but he would be the last person to wish, that our expression of opinion should be restrained by deference to his authority, or even by gratitude for the instruction we owe to him.

We are now come to the Report itself, and we hope that our previous discussion will be found to have saved time on the whole, by clearing the way for its consideration.

The duties of the Committee were so indefinite—their subject-matter so difficult in its nature, and so perplexed by conflicting interests and obstinate prejudices, and the body itself so large and heterogeneous, that they could scarcely have been expected to produce a very clear and consistent report. It might have been expected to consist, either of a statement of the opinions and wishes on the subject of one of the two great parties who speak and think on it as partizans, or of truisms on matters not in dispute, and vague generalities, and propositions so qualified as to be nugatory, on the debateable points; or of a discordant mixture of true and false,—good theory to be followed at some indefinite future period,—and mischievous practice for the present,—and full acknowledgments of contradictory propositions scattered throughout. But none of these characters applies to the present Report as a whole—great judgment has been shown in selecting the topics on which the opinion of the Committee was most desirable, and great manliness in fairly discussing them. The reader of the Report must, we think, be convinced that it is the work of very able and well-informed men. He will, unless his knowledge on the subject far exceeds ours, receive much valuable instruction, and he will be struck by the absence of system, and the desire of truth and practical utility, by which it is distinguished. He will, if he thinks with us, disagree with much of it; but was there ever a collection of dicta and reasonings on disputed points, with much of which every different reader did not disagree?—and if he find inconsistency in many parts, and a want of arrangement and unity in the whole, he will only wonder that under the circumstances of its composition, these faults are not still more observable. We will endeavour, although it has the last

fault in a degree peculiarly inconvenient for our purpose, to give, as far as we are able, a connected view of its contents.

They may be divided into, 1st. a statement of the substance of the corn laws. 2d. Of the opinion of the Committee as to the existence of agricultural distress. 3d. Of their opinion as to the nature of its causes, and the manner in which they are likely to operate in future. 4th. A proposal for a prospective and for an immediate alteration of the corn laws. And 5th. An answer to the reasonings of some of the agricultural petitions. And as this arrangement is, with some deviations, that of the Report, we will adopt it in our remarks.

We will give the first two heads in the words of the Committee.

‘ Your Committee do not think it necessary to preface the observations which they have to make, upon the important matters referred to them by the House, by a recapitulation of the numerous laws which have been passed, at different periods, for regulating the trade in Corn. The most material of those laws have been brought under the consideration of the House by the reports of former Committees on this subject. It is, therefore, sufficient to remark, that by the salutary law of 1806, a free interchange in grain of every description, was established between Great Britain and Ireland; and that the trade in foreign corn is altogether governed by the provisions of the Acts of 54 and 55 Geo. III. by which were, for the first time, enacted;—first, a constantly free exportation from the United Kingdom, without reference to price, or without such exportation being either encouraged by any bounty, or restrained by any duty whatsoever;—secondly, an absolute prohibition against the introduction of every description of foreign grain, meal, or flour, into the consumption of the United Kingdom, when the average prices, ascertained according to the mode established by former Acts, are below certain specified rates;—thirdly, an unlimited freedom of importation, from all parts of the world, without any duty whatever, when the prices are above those specified rates.

‘ Such being the state of the law which affects, so far as legislative interference can affect, the important interests brought under the consideration of the House by the numerous petitions presented in this session, your Committee proceeded, in the first instance, to inquire into the allegations of those petitions. It is with deep regret that they have to commence their Report by stating, that, in their judgment, the complaints of the petitioners are founded in fact, in so far as they represent that, at the present price of corn, the returns to the occupier of an arable farm, after allowing for the interest of his investment, are by no means adequate to the charges and outgoings: of which a considerable proportion can be paid only out of the capitals, and not from the profits of the tenantry.

‘ This pressure upon the farmer is stated by some of the witnesses to have materially affected the retail business of shopkeepers in country towns connected with the Agricultural districts. But notwithstanding this

this diminution of demand in particular parts of the country, it appears, by official returns, that the total consumption of the principal articles subject to duties of excise and customs has increased in the last year, compared with the average of the three preceding years; and also, that the quantity of cotton wool used for home consumption, and of cloth manufactured in Yorkshire, was greater last year than in the year preceding, although the export of woollens in 1820 appears to have diminished. Your Committee have not the same authentic means of ascertaining the consumption of iron, but there appears every reason to believe that it has also increased.

‘The opinion of your Committee, in respect to the present pressure upon the tenantry, is formed upon the best documentary evidence which the nature of the case admits of, confirmed by the testimony of many respectable witnesses, as well occupiers of land as surveyors and land agents: and it is further strengthened by a comparison of the difference between the existing price and the average price of the last ten years, the period within which most of the present engagements, affecting the tenant of the soil, may be supposed to have been contracted. If the present price could, under all the present circumstances, be remunerative, the average price of that period must have afforded an excessive profit; which does not appear probable, nor warranted by any facts. The only fair inference, perhaps, to be drawn from such a comparison, and from the state of our agriculture during the last war, is, that for a considerable part of that period, the returns of farming capital somewhat exceeded the ordinary rate of profit, and that at this time they are considerably below it.’—*Report*, p. 3—5.

Want of the Minutes prevents our inquiry into the evidence, on which the Committee ground their belief of the existence of great agricultural distress. We fear, however, that there is no reason to doubt its truth; we only regret that they have used expressions which might appear to admit the existence of a general remunerating price. We believe that, putting rent out of the question, there is, and always must be when the price of corn is falling, a portion of the capital employed in growing it as to which the price for the time being is not remunerative, a portion as to which it is precisely remunerative, and that as to all the rest, it is more than remunerative. And we put rent out of the question, because real rent, the excess of agricultural profit over the average profit of capital, *must* exist as to this last portion, and *cannot* as to the two others; and conventional rent will at the long run correspond with real rent, and therefore is too temporary, and in the mean time depends upon all the accidents of human conduct, and therefore is too indefinite a term to enter into the definition.

This indeed the Committee seem to have felt, and therefore disguise rent under the expressions ‘charges and outgoings,’ ‘present engagements’ and ‘present circumstances.’ It is only when they proceed to apologize for its present amount that they call it rent.

But

But though we think that the expression 'a remunerative price,' in the unexplained manner in which it is used by the Committee, is likely to lead, and indeed has led, to the most dangerous errors, it may, perhaps, be used with convenience if solely intended to signify the price which, at a given time and place, replaces to the grower of the corn grown at the greatest expense, the capital employed in growing it, with the average profit of capital. As to this corn, it will exclude rent; as to all other corn grown at the same time and place, it will imply real rent; and as real rent is the only standard by which we can estimate conventional rent, we may, generally speaking, consider it as implying conventional rent. Through their apology for rent the Committee slide into the third branch of their subject, the nature of the causes of the present distress, and the manner in which they are likely to operate in future. A want of distinctness in the Report makes it difficult to ascertain the opinion of the Committee on the former point; but we think they mean to refer the agricultural distress to four principal heads:—1st. To the alteration in the value of our currency. 2d. To an excess of supply as compared with demand. 3d. To 'the general derangement which the convulsions of the last thirty years have produced in all the relations of commerce, in the application of capital, and in the demand for labour;' and, 4th. To the operation of the present corn laws.

We fully agree with the Committee that the alteration which has taken place in the value of our currency must have occasioned, and must continue for a time to occasion, great injury to the occupiers of land. Its effect is, to injure all those who have definite sums to pay out of indefinite receipts—the latter diminishing while the former remain fixed, and this is the situation of those occupiers of land (by far the greatest portion) who are lessees or mortgagagers. And we join in the conviction expressed in the Report that the evil is temporary in the one case, and in the hope that it will be so in the other.

On recurring to the Report we are not quite sure that it bears us out as to the second and third causes which we have represented the Committee as assigning; but there is so much excellent sense in the whole passage which refers to them, that we will prevent all chance of misrepresentation by extracting it.

'Your Committee feel it an important part of their duty to recall to the recollection of the House, and the Country, that, in the years 1804 and 1814, a depression of prices,—principally caused by abundant harvests, and a great extension of tillage, excited by the extraordinary high prices of antecedent years,—appears to have produced a temporary pressure and uneasiness among the owners and occupiers of land, and a corresponding difficulty in the payment of rents and the letting of

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of farms, in some degree similar to the apprehensions and embarrassments which now prevail; and also, that in many earlier periods, similar complaints may be traced in the history of our agriculture.

Among numerous instances of these complaints, which may be found in other publications between the middle of the 17th century and the beginning of the late reign, two have been pointed out by one of the witnesses, in which the House will not fail to remark the great similarity between the arguments and alarms which were then current, with those which prevail in many quarters at this period.

That in these earlier and more remote stages of our agriculture these alarms were only temporary, and that the fears of those who reasoned upon their continuance and increase, were ere long dissipated by the natural course of seasons and events, is now matter of history. And it is impossible to look back to the discussions of the years 1804 and 1814, and more especially to the evidence taken before the Committee appointed by the House on the latter occasion, without being forcibly struck with the conformity of the statements and opinions, then produced, respecting the ruinous operation and expected continuance of low prices, with those which will be found in the evidence now collected. Indeed these statements, in some instances, come from the mouths of the same witnesses.

Your Committee trust that this reference to past experience will not be altogether useless and unavailing to allay the alarm, and to dispel some of the desponding predictions which, by unnecessarily increasing anxiety for the future, tend to aggravate the severe pressure of our present difficulties;—that the reflections which such a retrospect is calculated to excite, may lead the occupiers of the soil, as it has led your Committee, to infer that in agriculture, as in all other pursuits in which capital and industry can be embarked, there have been, and will be, periods of reaction; that such reaction is the more to be expected in proportion to the long continued prosperity of the pursuit, and to the degree of previous excitement and exertion which that prosperity had called forth. They must add, as a further inference from the experience of former periods, to which the present crisis bears no distant resemblance, that there is a natural tendency in the distribution of capital and labour to remedy the disorders which may casually arise in society from such temporary derangement, and (without at all meaning to deny that it is the duty of the legislature to do every thing in its power to shorten the duration, and to palliate the evils of the crisis) that it often happens that these disorders are prolonged, if not aggravated, by too much interference and regulation.

It is by no means without the expectation that the suffering of our own community can be alleviated by the contemplation of a corresponding pressure upon other nations that your Committee find themselves called upon to state that many commodities of general and extensive demand, the staple productions of other countries, such as corn, cotton, rice and tobacco in the United States of America; sugar and rum in the West Indies; tallow, flax, hemp, timber, iron, wool and corn, on the continent of Europe, appear to have fallen in price, in some instances more,  
and

and scarcely in any less, in proportion to the prices of those articles prior to 1816, than the fall in the price of grain in this country; with regard to several of which articles, and the countries producing them, some of the causes which have principally affected the value of grain in this country cannot be considered as operating.

'The proofs of this great revulsion of prices, in other parts of the world, may be found, as to most of those articles, in the evidence collected by your Committee, and the remainder in other authentic information now before the House. The facts indeed are, from their nature, matter of such notoriety to the commercial classes of the community, that they cannot admit of a doubt. So far as this state of things tends to involve other countries in embarrassment, it must be matter not of satisfaction, but of regret; and this natural feeling of every liberal mind will only be confirmed by reflecting upon the intimate connection which must exist between the advancement of other nations towards wealth and improvement, and the growing prosperity of our own. Entertaining this feeling, your Committee trust, that their motive for noticing the present state of the markets in other parts of the world will not be misconceived. The fact is one which naturally came within the scope of their inquiry, as tending to affect the markets of this country, and it appeared not unessential to advert to it for the further object of showing that the causes which have produced this great change are not confined to any one country. It would seem that the influence of that general derangement which the convulsions of the last thirty years have produced in all the relations of commerce, in the application of capital, and in the demand for labour, is not yet spent and exhausted, and that neither the habits and dealings of individuals, members of the same community, nor the transactions and intercourse of different communities with one another, have hitherto altogether adjusted themselves to that more natural state of things which we may now hope is likely to become again the more habitual and permanent condition of society.'—pp. 10—14.

There appears some doubt whether the Committee attribute the present redundancy of supply to the unusual abundance of the late harvest, or generally to too great an extension of tillage; but as they contemplate a gradual remedy, which the former would not require, we think they must mean the latter. It appears doubtful, too, whether they refer to the state of foreign markets as an illustration, or as an efficient cause, of that of our own.

We believe ourselves that the deterioration of our foreign market, occasioned partly by the causes alluded to by the Committee, and partly by the loss of the monopoly which we possessed in it, has produced great distress among our manufacturers, (including under that name those who live by circulating as well as by working up commodities,) and that the distress of our agriculturists is, in a great measure, caused by that of their customers, the manufacturers; that an inability in the manufacturers to buy has produced

duced an inability in the agriculturists to sell, at its natural price, that part of their produce which has been produced at the greatest expense; and that that part of their produce is, therefore, to use the expression of the Committee, redundant—that is, meets with no demand *at its natural price*. We are anxious to insert this qualification of price, when we speak of the want of demand, because we are far from believing that, at a price below the natural price, there is any want of demand. We are far from believing that more corn is produced in this country than the inhabitants wish to consume, or, in fact, than they do consume; and we believe they could, with great pleasure, consume much more. All that they want is the money to pay for it, or, in more accurate language, a sufficiency of equivalents to replace to the producer of corn the whole capital which he has employed in its production, with the average profit of capital. We believe, in short, the redundancy to be not positive, but relative, and that positive redundancy, if it can ever exist in any article which is limited in quantity, is peculiarly improbable in the case of corn, from the tendency of corn, as affording the great necessary of life, to produce its own demand. The Committee, however, appear to consider corn as peculiarly liable, if not to positive redundancy, yet to an approach to it.

‘In the article of corn, however, there is one consideration to be constantly borne in mind, most material to enable the House and the Country to arrive at sound and safe conclusions on this important subject, namely, that the price of corn fluctuates more than that of any other commodity of extensive consumption, in proportion to any excess or deficiency in the supply. The truth of this proposition had not escaped several writers on this subject, and has been confirmed by many of the witnesses who have been examined; although it may be doubted whether, generally, they were aware of its extent and practical operation in the present state of this country and of our corn laws.

‘The cause which produces this greater susceptibility in the corn market cannot be better explained by your Committee than in the following extract from the answers of Mr. Tooke, one of the witnesses who was particularly examined to this point:—“Why should a different principle apply to corn than to any other general production? —Because a fall in the price of any other commodity not of general necessity, brings the article within the reach of the consumption of a greater number of individuals, whereas in the case of corn, the average quantity is sufficient for the supply of every individual; all beyond that is an absolute depression of the market for a great length of time, and a succession of even two or three abundant seasons must evidently produce an enormously inconvenient accumulation.”—“Is there not a greater consumption of corn when it is cheap than when it is dear, as to quantity?—There may be, and possibly must be, a greater consumption; but it is very evident that if the population was before adequately fed, the increased consumption from abundance  
“can



"can amount to little more than waste; and this would be in a very small proportion to the whole excess of a good harvest or two."—  
 "The whole population of this country and others do not subsist upon wheat; therefore, when wheat becomes cheaper, those who were formerly fed upon other corn may take to feeding upon wheat?—My remark was general as applying to corn. There is no doubt that if there is one description of corn applicable to human food which is abundant, and another that is deficient, then the principle does not apply; my principle applies to corn generally applicable to human food. It may be observed that abundant seasons generally extend to the leading articles of consumption, and that it seldom happens, that in what are called commonly good years, there is a complete failure in any one great article."

"In the substance of this reasoning your Committee entirely concur; and it appears to them that it cannot be called in question, without either denying that corn is an article of general necessity and universal consumption among the population of this country, or [affirming] that the demand is materially varied by the amount of the supply. This latter proposition, except within very narrow limits, altogether disproportioned to the fluctuations in production, is not warranted by experience. The general truth of the observation remains, therefore, unaltered by any small degree of waste on the one side, or of economy on the other; neither of which are sufficient to counteract the effect which opinion and speculation must have upon price, when it is felt how little demand is increased by redundancy, or checked by scantiness of supply."—pp. 14—16.

We are sorry that we cannot feel all the concurrence which the Committee express in the substance of Mr. Tooke's reasoning—we are sorry, because it proceeds on a premise in which it must be delightful to believe:—that the average quantity of corn is sufficient for the supply of every individual;—that it so adequately feeds our whole population that the increased consumption from abundance is little more than waste. But we fear that, so far from its being true that every person in this country has as much bread as he wants, it will be found that, even in the most favourable seasons, not six, not four, out of our twelve millions, are in this situation. Mr. Tooke can scarcely have seen the cottages of our poor, where the loaf is the food only of the man, and the LUXURY of his wife and children. He can scarcely have recollected the immense consumption of flour in puddings and pastry of every description, and that that consumption is kept within the limits of the existing supply, in the bulk of our population, only by the most painful economy; and above all he must have forgotten the elasticity with which population, supposing the resources of the country to be uninjured, expands whenever the force that limits it is relaxed by an increased supply of the great necessary of life. So far from the demand of corn being little increased by redundancy and checked by scanti-

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ness of supply, and the former only producing a small degree of waste, and the latter of economy, we believe that it is more susceptible of variation from these causes than the demand for the non-necessaries of life. If the supply of hats be doubled there will not be more heads, and the existing heads will not wear more hats at a time, though they may wear them out a little sooner; but if the supply of corn be doubled there will be more mouths, and the existing mouths will consume more than before. Every such increase will produce immediately an improvement of habits, and, if permanent, an increase of numbers in the labouring part of the population; and every diminution in the supply of corn will produce immediately a deterioration of their habits, and, if permanent, a diminution of their numbers. A positive redundancy of corn could exist, even for a time, only in a society without a wish to increase its consumption; it could permanently exist only in a society without a tendency to increase its numbers. The former state of society is improbable—the latter impossible.

We are now come to the fourth head of the causes of the present agricultural distress—the Corn Laws. It is prefaced by some remarks of the Committee, with the substance of which we agree, and to which we may have occasion to recur, on the danger to which a price habitually and considerably exceeding the prices of the remainder of the world, would expose the grower, notwithstanding his monopoly of the home market, and on the probable course which legislation on what is called a remunerative price, may be expected to take. The sentence with which they begin would not prepare us for the admirable good sense of what follows it.

‘Taking as the basis of all wise regulations on the subject of the corn laws, the undeniable positions,—that the landlord, the tenant, and the consumer, have one great and common interest in maintaining a permanent and adequate supply of corn at prices as steady as possible,—and that steadiness of price must depend on guarding, as much as legislative interference can guard, against the effects of fluctuation of seasons,—your Committee have examined the practical operation of the present system of our foreign trade in corn with a reference to these two points.’  
—pp. 21, 22.

A more deniable position than that it is the tenant’s interest to maintain steadiness of price by preventing, through legislative interference, the natural effect on price of fluctuating seasons, that is, to keep the price of his produce the same, while its quantity is necessarily varying, never was propounded. As the tenant’s principal payments are *fixed*, it must be to his interest to have *fixed* returns; and as the *quantity* of his produce varies with the variations of season this can only be effected by an inverse variation of price.

price. It is true that if the variations of price were to exceed those of the season, they would be injurious even to the tenant; and it is true that if a steady price were maintained, notwithstanding the variations of season, as might be done in a small territory by a free corn trade, the tenant's gains and losses would at the long run be even, and he might save from the former to meet the latter. But if he began with a succession of bad crops he might be ruined before the time of compensation should arrive; if his lease ended with a series of good ones the rent of his new one might be assessed on an extravagant basis; and putting these contingencies out of the question, it will always be better for a man to have prudence provided for him by causes out of his controul, than to have to furnish it himself. The landlord's interest, as landlord, in all questions between the tenant and the consumer, is with the tenant—on whose success his rent depends; so that the 'undeniable position' of the Committee fails as to two of the three classes whose identity of interest they have asserted.

But we will no longer detain our readers from the excellent view which the Committee have given of the practical operation of the corn laws.

'To prohibit the foreign supply altogether, so long as, from the casualty of seasons, we are subject to years of deficient or damaged produce, has at all times been felt to be impossible. But, since the year 1815, we have had recourse to an absolute prohibition up to a certain price, and an unlimited competition beyond that price.

'This system is certainly liable to sudden alterations, of which the effect may be at one time to reduce prices already low, lower than they would probably have been under a state of free trade, and at another, unnecessarily to enhance prices already high;—to aggravate the evils of scarcity, and to render more severe the depression of prices from abundance. On the one hand, it deceives the grower with the false hope of a monopoly, and, by its occasional interruption, may lead to consequences which deprive him of the benefits of that monopoly when most wanted:—on the other hand, it holds out to the country the prospect of an occasional free trade, but so regulated and desultory as to baffle the calculations, and unsettle the transactions, both of the grower and the dealer at home;—to deprive the consumer of most of the benefits of such a trade, and to involve the merchant in more than the ordinary risks of mercantile speculation. It exposes the markets of the country, either to be occasionally overwhelmed with an inundation of foreign corn altogether disproportionate to its wants; or, in the event of any considerable deficiency in our own harvest, it creates a sudden competition on the continent, by the effect of which the prices there are rapidly and unnecessarily raised against ourselves. But the inconvenient operation of the present Corn Law, which appears to be less the consequence of the quantity of foreign grain brought into this country, upon an average of years, than of the manner in which that grain

grain is introduced, is not confined to great fluctuations in price, and consequent embarrassment, both to the grower and the consumer; for the occasional prohibition of import has also a direct tendency to contract the extent of our commercial dealings with other states, and to excite in the rulers of those states a spirit of permanent exclusion against the productions or manufactures of this country and its colonies. In this conflict of retaliatory exclusion, injurious to both, the two parties, however, are not upon an equal footing;—on our part, prohibition must yield to the wants of the people; on the other side, there is no such over-ruling necessity. And inasmuch as reciprocity of demand is the foundation of all means of payment, a large and sudden influx of corn might, under these circumstances, create a temporary derangement of the course of exchange, the effects of which (after the resumption of cash payments) might lead to a drain of specie from the Bank, the consequent contraction of its circulation, a panic among the country banks,—all aggravating the distress of a public dearth, as has been experienced at former periods of scarcity.

‘That the present system of our Corn Law has a tendency, according to circumstances, at one time to reduce prices lower than they would probably have been under a state of free trade; and at another time, to enhance those prices, when already perhaps too high, will not appear paradoxical to the House, if it be considered that the practical operation of this system, in its sudden and desultory transitions, may be not only slightly at variance with, but in direct opposition to, the principle on which it is founded;—that principle being, to shut out foreign corn from home consumption in seasons of sufficient or abundant crops, and to give every facility to its introduction in years of scarcity. For example: let it be supposed that on the 15th of August next, the average price of wheat, ascertained in the usual mode, should be 79s. 11d. per quarter, whatever may be the possible scantiness of the forth-coming harvest, (a fact not then capable of being ascertained,) the ports will remain shut till the 15th of November: but if that average should be 80s. 1d., whatever may be the abundance of the forth-coming harvest, the ports and the warehouses of foreign corn will be opened at least for six weeks; and, in reference to the principal exporting countries, for three months. Pursuing the supposition a little further,—if the first case should occur when there was no accumulation of foreign corn in the warehouses of this country, and very little at the shipping ports of the continent, (a state of things by no means rare,) the prices at home, after a failing harvest, would rise very rapidly, and become very high, before any material supply could be drawn from the north of Europe, as both the passage down the rivers, and the navigation of the Baltic, would be interrupted during the winter. In the meantime the prices on the continent would be regulated by those of this country, rising as our prices rose. In the spring there would be a great demand for shipping to bring over the supplies purchased during the winter, by which the charge of bringing the corn to our market would be still further increased; and thus, in various ways, prices would unnecessarily be enhanced in this country; first, during the most distressing period of the

year, from the want of a timely and regular supply from abroad; secondly, from the eager and general competition to procure that supply upon the sudden opening of our ports, a competition which will immediately raise the price on the continent against ourselves, until, together with the charges of conveyance, and the probable loss upon the fall of exchange, it becomes upon a level with the scarcity price of this country; and, thirdly, by the direct tax which may be laid upon the export from countries to which we resort for our supplies. This tax, in the Prussian dominions, was about 10s. a quarter during the extreme scarcity which prevailed in this country in the years 1800 and 1801; and it was expressly declared that the continuance or removal of this tax would depend altogether upon the continuance or cessation of the wants of this kingdom.

‘But if the second supposed case (that of our ports being opened at a fraction above 80s.) should arise, when there was a great stock of foreign corn in the warehouses of this country, and at the shipping ports of the continent (which is the present state of things), in proportion to the low and ruinous price to which that corn, from long accumulation and want of vent, would be reduced, would be the temptation, and consequent eager competition, and simultaneous effort, to pour it upon this country; where, in the case supposed of an abundant harvest, no part of it would be wanted, and its rapid influx would not fail to lower the prices to a pitch which they never would have reached had the trade not been liable to such sudden alternations.’—pp. 22—25.

The Committee, after illustrating the case last supposed, by a reference to the effects of the importation of oats in August, 1820, add—

‘If such be the consequences of the present system, they sufficiently point out the nature of those inconveniences to which it may expose the grower, the dealer at home, and the foreign importer in his speculations abroad. When your Committee find, for instance, in the seventeen months which passed between January, 1816, and June, 1817, the price of wheat varying from 53s. 1d. to 112s. 7d.; and again, in the three months which ensued from June to September, 1817, from 112s. 7d. to 74s., they cannot but ask whether fluctuations so rapid and extensive have existed in any other commodity of universal supply and demand, or in any other country? and whether these fluctuations may not have been aggravated by some of the effects of the present law?’

‘With respect to the effects which may be produced in this country, all the internal and commercial transactions of which so mainly depend on circulating credit, by a sudden revulsion in the foreign exchanges, the experience of the last thirty years is a sufficient warning. Your Committee, therefore, feel a confident assurance, that when the attention of the House is called to the subject, it will examine with a jealous care for the public interest, how far the present system of the corn trade has a tendency to bring upon the country the renewal of this calamity.’—pp. 27, 28.

With the substance of these reasonings we fully concur; and it would

would not be easy to add to the force and the clearness with which they are expressed. The Committee then show that the system they have been reprobating has not the sanction of long usage in its favour; that from 1773 to 1814 the ports have been constantly open and the trade free, with the exception of a few short intervals, when the high duty of 24s. 3d. a quarter was demandable, and operated as a prohibition.

‘The necessary consequence of the trade in corn having been virtually open with the continent, and the importation allowed at duties merely nominal, during this period of forty years, has been, that the general price, at the shipping ports on the continent, has not, upon an average, been materially lower than the price in England, except to the amount of the charges to be incurred in bringing the foreign corn to the markets of this country. The price, at a distance from those shipping ports, and in the districts which have not the benefit of good roads or internal navigation, it is true, has been much lower, but this difference was absorbed in the expense and risk of transporting it from those districts. The quantity that can be supplied, without incurring that expense, is limited; and in proportion as the prices in England have been high, has the interior circle on the continent from which the supplies have been drawn, been extended.

‘The severe scarcities which we have experienced have furnished us, therefore, with something like a measure of the degree in which they could be relieved from the surplus produce of the continent within the prices which those scarcities respectively occasioned; whilst the mode in which every rise in the price at home adds to the power and inducement of increasing the foreign importation, shows that any increase of the rates, at which the import commences under the present system, would only tend, whenever the ports should open, to aggravate the fluctuation, and the other inconveniences which appear to your Committee to appertain to the principle of alternate monopoly and free importation.’—pp. 30, 31.

As the country would expect of them, the Committee have followed their remarks on the impolicy of the law, by proposing an alteration. They propose, indeed, two—one temporary, until the present continental glut shall have been dispersed; and the other permanent. The temporary one, which consists in a relaxation of the present import price, and the imposition of a fixed duty on importation, so much resembles in principle the other, that we need not discuss it independently. We proceed to their permanent plan.

‘Your Committee are the more anxious to impress upon the attention of the House the real state of our trade in foreign corn, between the years 1773 and 1814, as it appears to them, taken in connection with the progress of general prosperity in the country, and more especially with the great improvements in agriculture, and its highly flourishing condition during that period, to suggest to Parliament, as a

matter highly deserving of their future consideration, whether a trade in corn, constantly open to all nations of the world, and subject only to such a fixed duty as might compensate to the grower the loss of that encouragement which he received during the late war from the obstacles thrown in the way of free importation, and thereby protect the capitals now vested in agriculture from an unequal competition in the home market,—is not, as a permanent system, preferable to that state of law by which the corn trade is now regulated. It would be indispensable, for the just execution of this principle, that such duty should be calculated fairly to countervail the difference of expense, including the ordinary rate of profit, at which corn, in the present state of this country, can be grown and brought to market within the United Kingdom, compared with the expense, including also the ordinary rate of profit, of producing it in any of those countries from whence our principal supplies of foreign corn have usually been drawn, joined to the ordinary charges of conveying it from thence to our markets.—p. 31.

‘It is not the province of Your Committee to specify any precise permanent duty for the protection of the British grower; nor should they, perhaps, be adequately prepared so to do without further inquiry; nor until the obstacle to that inquiry, created by the present accumulation and glut, shall be removed. At the same time, they incline to the opinion, that leaving to every part of the United Kingdom the inestimable public benefit of the most full and free competition in the home market, without regard to the difference of fertility in the soil, or of expense in its cultivation, either from a difference in the price of labour, or in the amount of local and public burthens directly affecting the land; it may, perhaps, be difficult, if not impossible, putting rent out of the question, for the occupiers of some of the poorest and most expensive soils now under tillage in Great Britain, to bring their produce to market in competition with the more fertile lands of this country, and especially of Ireland. Your Committee would be anxious to suggest, for the consideration of Parliament, as the principle and basis of the trade in foreign corn, such a protecting duty upon the produce of other countries, as would not aggravate to the occupiers of such soils the present difficulty of that competition. The general question, How far the forced cultivation of some of those inferior lands may have been expedient or advantageous for the public interest, is one upon which it is unnecessary to offer a positive opinion. They can, however, have no difficulty in stating that, within the limits of the existing competition at home, the exertions of industry and the investment of capital in Agriculture, ought to be protected against any revulsion, but that the protection ought not to go farther;—and that, if protected to that extent, the growth of our population, the accumulation of our internal wealth, affording increased employment to that population, and consequently increased means of purchasing all those articles of consumption and enjoyment, which must be derived from the soil of this country, will continue to give, as they have given during the last sixty years, the most effectual stimulus and encouragement to the progressive improvement of our Agriculture, and to the consequent  
value



value of the landed property of the kingdom ;—that, under such a system, there can be no apprehension that either will permanently retrograde, (except in so far as rents may be nominally affected by the resumption of cash payments,) or even be for any time stationary,—so long as our institutions continue to afford, to capital and industry, that superior degree of security and protection which they have hitherto found in this country,—so long as public credit and good faith keep pace with that security and protection, and as we avoid any course which, in a time of peace, and possibly of improving confidence in the stability of the institutions of other countries, might drive capital to seek a more profitable employment in foreign states. It is under the impression that the present Corn Law, together with the amount of our taxation, by diminishing the profits of capital, have such a tendency, that Your Committee suggest the modifications which have been pointed out, as fit for further inquiry and investigation ; and that they feel it their duty, also, to accompany that suggestion with a most earnest recommendation, that every opportunity should be watched, and every practical measure adopted, for reducing the amount of the Public Expenditure ; as the only means of approximating to a state of Finance, which, without impairing the credit of the country, may lead to a diminution of the existing burthens of the People.’—pp. 34, 35.

We agree fully with the Committee that our present corn laws ought to be abolished. We agree with them as to the propriety both of constantly permitting importation, and of subjecting it at present to a duty. With the principle on which they propose to assess that duty, we utterly disagree ; but with less pain, as it appears to us the necessary consequence of our agreement with other parts of the Report. That principle, under different disguises, is throughout the same—prohibition—a monopoly of the home market until the indefinite period shall come, when that market shall be so much improved, as to afford to the capitals now invested in the cultivation of the poorest and most expensive soils now under tillage, the average profit of capital ; that is, until prices rise, or nearly rise, to those of the last years of the war, as expressed in our altered currency.

The duty is to be such, first, as will protect the capitals now vested in agriculture from an unequal competition in the home market. All that distinguishes such a protection from the strictest monopoly, is the word ‘unequal.’ And we can allow it to produce such a distinction, only, by supposing it to express a competition which reduces the profit of the capital against which it operates, below the average profit of capital in other employments. But until the period we have alluded to shall have arrived, any competition whatever with our agricultural capitalists would reduce their profits further than they now are below the average profit of capital in other employments. If the present supply finds

no demand at a price which remunerates the grower of the most expensive part of it, much less would an increased supply find such a demand. The proposed duty, therefore, must be, until that period shall have arrived, prohibitive.

The next rule by which the Committee propose to assess the duty is,

‘That it should be calculated fairly to countervail the difference of expense, including also the ordinary rate of profit, at which corn, in the present state of this country, can be grown and brought to market within the United Kingdom, compared with the expense, including the ordinary rate of profit, of producing it in any of those countries from whence our principal supplies of foreign corn have usually been drawn, joined to the ordinary charges of conveying it from thence to our markets.’

That is, that it should be equal to the difference of price, deducting the expense of carriage, and calculating the British price not at its existing amount, but at that which would replace the capital now employed in the cultivation of the most expensive British corn, with the average profit of capital in other employments—that price being the measure, in a stationary market, of the expense of growing and bringing to market with the average profit, the corn which does not pay rent, and of that expense and profit, together with the real rent, of that corn which does pay rent. Such a duty, like the last, would be prohibitive until the arrival of the time, if ever it is to arrive, when the British price reaches the supposed amount. It would then remain prohibitive if the price of foreign corn were to rise; that price necessarily *would* rise, as the exportation would both diminish the supply and increase the demand, in the foreign market. And though that rise would be created only in the shipping ports, whence our supplies were derived, yet, as the Committee have well observed, in the passage already extracted, p. 50., the difference between the prices of those ports, and of the districts less advantageously situated for exportation, would be absorbed in the expense and risk of transportation from those districts.

The last principle upon which the Committee calculate their duty, is nearly a repetition of the first. It is to be such a duty as would not aggravate, to the occupiers of the poorest and most expensive soils now under tillage in Great Britain, the present difficulty of competing with the more fertile lands:—that is, which should prohibit importation, for all importation necessarily *would* aggravate that difficulty. The difficulty exists, because the supply is so great that there is no demand at a price, by which the occupiers of the soils in question are remunerated. Increase the supply by importation, and of course the difficulty is increased. It

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appears, from the remarks of the Committee, p. 22. 33. 47., that they propose, in seasons of scarcity, to relax or suspend the duty.

Our readers may be amused, we do not wish to use a graver expression, by recurring to the reprobation with which the Committee have treated the present system of our corn laws, and then examining the practical effect of their own. The effect of the present system is, prohibition under 80s. a quarter; and then, unlimited importation. The effect of the committee's system will be, prohibition under a price, which, to answer their proposed end, must, we fear, be little less than 80s. a quarter, if not more; then importation of that small quantity, which foreign growers can give us without an increase of their own price, until corn shall reach some further very high price, when the relaxation or suspension of the duty renders the importation nearly, or entirely free. The only difference in theory, is, the additional restraint between the period, when the duty ceases to be prohibitive, and that at which it is to be relaxed or suspended. The only differences in practice will be, a diminution of the evils which arise from fluctuation, and an aggravation of those which arise—

‘From the hazardous and embarrassing situation of the grower of corn in a country where the lowest price, which is considered to afford him a remuneration, shall habitually and considerably exceed the prices of the remainder of the world, although, up to that price, he should be secured in the complete monopoly of that country;’ p. 17. ‘from the manner in which the produce of the poorer soils in England is liable to be affected by ungenial seasons;’ p. 21. ‘from the consequences of a retaliatory exclusion of our own manufactures in foreign countries;’ p. 23. ‘from a great difference between the cost of subsistence here, and in other countries, not only in regard to the people themselves, but also from the risk which must be in proportion to that difference, of deriving much of the capital by which their industry and labour are supported, to seek employment in other countries. For there cannot be a doubt that this difference operates in the same manner as taxation, to diminish the profits of capital in this country, and there can be as little doubt that, though capital may migrate, the unoccupied population will remain, and remain to be maintained by the landed interest, upon whose resources, diminished in proportion to diminished demand, this additional burthen would principally fall.’—p. 41.

If our readers wish still further to examine the antidote, which the committee have furnished, against their own suggestions, let them read the enlightened passage, in which the effects, on agriculture, of freedom and protection are contrasted.

‘In comparing the two periods, each of nearly equal duration, between the peace of Utrecht and the commencement of the Seven Years war,—and between the years 1773 and 1814,—and recollecting that the first period was one of almost uninterrupted peace; and that nearly thirty

years of the latter have passed away in the exertions of two most expensive wars;—that, during the former period, the market interest of money was generally much below, and during the latter, frequently as much above the rate fixed by law;—that during the former, the aim of the Legislature was, by artificial means, to divert the application of capital from other employments to that of agriculture, as well by positive bounties which forced an export of grain to other countries, as by duties which generally altogether precluded its import either from the continent or from Ireland;—that during the latter, agriculture has, in point of fact, been without either of those stimulants;—your Committee cannot look at these contrasted circumstances, coincident, during the first period, with a comparative stagnation of our agriculture; and during the second, with its most rapid growth and improvement, without acknowledging that there was nothing in the system pursued up to 1773, which necessarily promoted this most essential branch of public industry and national wealth; and also, that there is nothing incompatible with the success of both these objects in the system which has practically prevailed since that date. If the quantity of wheat, the growth of Great Britain, was truly estimated, as it was estimated in 1773, at four millions of quarters, and if it cannot now be stated so low as at double that amount, it is evident that the change of system has been attended with no defalcation of produce. If, since that year, the number of cattle and sheep has been vastly augmented, their breeds improved, and, by those improvements, their size and aptness to fatten, and in sheep their fleeces greatly increased; if, by this augmentation of live stock, a greater quantity of manure has been produced; if all the most important but expensive meliorations of modern husbandry have been introduced; if scientific drainages have been undertaken, and extensive wastes inclosed, to augment the produce of the land,—it cannot be said that there has been a want of encouragement to invest large and adequate capitals in this branch of national industry.

‘ If, from agriculture, your Committee look to the permanent improvements which have been made in the country itself within the same period, the bridges which have been built, the roads which have been formed, the rivers which have been rendered navigable, the canals which have been completed, the harbours which have been made and improved, the docks which have been created,—not by the public revenue, but by the capitals and enterprize of individuals; if they look, at the same time, to the unexampled growth of manufactures and commerce—in the contemplation of this augmentation of internal wealth, which defies all illustration from comparison with any former portion of our history, or of the history of any other state;—your Committee may entertain a doubt, (a doubt, however, which they wish to state with that diffidence which a subject so extensive naturally imposes upon their judgment,) whether the only solid foundation of the flourishing state of agriculture is not laid in abstaining, as much as possible, from interference, either by protection or prohibition, with the application of capital, in any branch of industry?—whether all fears for the decline of agriculture, either from temporary vicissitudes to which all speculations

speculations are liable, or from the extension of other pursuits of general industry, are not, in a great degree, imaginary?—whether commerce can expand, manufactures thrive, and great public works be undertaken, without furnishing to the skill and labour which the capitals thus employed put in motion, increased means of paying for the productions of the land—whether the principal part of those productions which contribute to the gratification of the wants and desires of the different classes of the community must not necessarily be drawn from our own soil, the demand increasing with the population, as the population must increase with the riches of the country?—whether, in our own country in former times, and in other naturally fertile countries up to the present time, agriculture has not languished from the want of such a stimulus?—and whether, in those countries, the proprietors of the land are not themselves poor, and the people wretched, in proportion as, from want of capital, their labour is more exclusively confined to raising from their own soil the means of their own scanty subsistence?

‘If these questions should be answered in the affirmative, it follows, that the present solidity and future improvement of our national wealth depend on the continuance of that union by which our agricultural prosperity is so closely connected with the preservation of our manufacturing and commercial greatness.’—pp. 38—41.

We wish that, besides these questions, the Committee could have been asked how they reconciled their practical advice, with their opinions, p. 14. that the present distress has partly been occasioned by redundant production, and so far ‘admits of no adequate remedy, except that which must arise from the progressive adjustment of the supply to the demand, either by the diminution of the one, or the increase of the other, or, more probably, by the combined operation of both?’ Whether the supply will be diminished by protecting the capitals now vested in the cultivation of the poorest and most expensive soils?—whether the demand will be increased by a system which ‘has a direct tendency to contract the extent of our commercial dealings,’ and ‘to diminish the profits of capital?’ And whether the only means of enabling the agricultural part of the community to obtain a higher price, are not, previously, to enable the non-agricultural part to give it? The last question has indeed been put to the agriculturists, and their answer to it, though unnoticed by the Committee, ought not we think to be passed over by us. Like most bad reasoners they assume some true premises, that the prosperity of our manufacturers depends on the goodness of their markets; that the home market is far the most valuable, and that it is much injured by the agricultural distress. To restore, therefore, prosperity to the manufacturer, they propose to improve his home market, and to do this, by raising the price of corn, till it shall reach a point which shall put an end to the agricultural distress, which, by deteriorating the home market, has occasioned

occasioned that of the manufacturers. Now granting the possibility of thus raising the price of corn by legislative interference (which we believe in, much as we do in the Turkish plan of sinking it, by hanging a baker) the plan is, to give prosperity to the manufacturer, by obliging him to pay a larger price for his corn, in consideration that, that excess of price being in return laid out with him, he will retain a *portion* of it as profit. Give me 80s. a quarter for my corn instead of 50s., says the agriculturist to the cotton-spinner, and your market shall be prodigiously improved; I will lay out 80s. instead of 50s. in buying your stockings, and instead of a profit of 5s. you will get one of 8s.:—though to be sure, you will have given 30s. for the privilege of getting this additional profit of 3s. We may put the transaction into a still simpler form, by leaving out, (what only perplexes it,) the intervention of money, and supposing it to be carried on, as practically it is, by barter. Suppose the cotton-spinner, instead of paying 80s. for his corn, and having that 80s. returned to him in exchange for his stockings, were directly to exchange his stockings for his corn. The proposal then is, to improve his situation by obliging him to give eight pair of stockings for a given quantity of corn instead of five. But even this is far too favourable a statement of the agricultural argument. It supposes all that is lost by the manufacturer to be gained by the agriculturist, and all that is gained by the agriculturist to be laid out with the manufacturer. A great portion of the increased price which the monopoly enabled the agriculturist to receive, would be laid out on horses and servants, in residence abroad, and in all the other modes of expense which are useless to the productive labourers of the community. And a great portion of the remainder would be absorbed by the diminished fertility of the soil of which it forced the cultivation. It is in this manner that all attempts to favour one part of the community at the expense of the other, not by a direct transfer of revenue, but by interfering with the natural application of capital, where they succeed, add waste to injustice. To put 5s. into the pocket of the agriculturist, they would force the manufacturer to pay him 80s. for a quarter of corn, which he has raised at the expense of 75s. but which might have been raised elsewhere for 50s. It was on this principle that the Turks refused to introduce printing, because it would interfere with the profits of copyists,—and that the watermen of the Thames requested that Westminster bridge might not be built, because it would interfere with their fares. It would have been much cheaper to give the copyists and the watermen salaries to the amount of their loss, and leave them to employ themselves in some other occupations.

We have ourselves, however, admitted the propriety of a duty; but it is as a temporary, not a permanent measure, that we approve  
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of one. We are anxious, to use the words of the Committee, 'to spare vested interests, and to deal tenderly with those obstacles to improvement which the long existence of a vicious system too often creates:'—and which in the present instance have been created even by the *short* existence of such a system, operating on the interests, and still more on the prejudices, of a powerful body. But we do not wish to make the use, which is so often made of this argument, and to treat the obstacles to improvement with a tenderness which will make them eternal. We wish to protect the agriculturists from the effects of the sudden alteration of prices which might follow an unrestrained corn trade. Where such a trade will render a part of our agricultural capital unproductive, we wish to give time for the removal of the portion which can be removed, and to soften the loss on what cannot be removed, by making it gradual. For this purpose we would willingly consent to the imposition of any duty the agriculturists should require, if provision were made for its gradual termination. Suppose the duty, which the Committee describe as having been always prohibitive, of 24s. 3d. to be imposed, with a proviso that it should be reduced by 2s. every year. In twelve years a return to true principles would be effected, and the evils attendant on the execution of the measure much mitigated.

It may be feared that the distinguishing quality of such a duty, its gradual operation, will not facilitate its adoption. Legislators are in general far too anxious for immediate results, to make laws of which the full effect is reserved for posterity. The common impatience of human nature is heightened in them by a consciousness that the credit is seldom bestowed till the object is fully attained, and by a well grounded fear, that any measure which is to be completed by a successor, will be mismanaged or neglected, when he who planned it is removed. It has been said, that no architect should ever design a building too vast to be finished in his life-time,—since he may rely on its being spoilt by those who follow him. And the consciousness that his power is more precarious than even his life, and that habits of systematic opposition are likely to prejudice against his views any rival who may displace him, must strengthen in the minister of a popular government, the eagerness to make complete at once, beyond the danger of alteration or repeal, the measures which he has triumphantly carried. But every change, however permanently beneficial, must be attended with immediate injury. If we resolve that it shall at once produce its full effects of good, we must resolve to suffer it at once, to produce, not merely its full effects of evil, but probably much more evil than if we had been content to receive its benefits gradually. And evils of execution, thus concentrated and aggravated, may often make a

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wise legislator refuse, or a weak one delay, measures, which, if gradually insinuated, might, in time, have produced all their good, and little of their injury. The only mode by which it was ever proposed to reform the calendar was, by leaving out at once the excessive days.—Fear of the confusion and inconvenience which this would occasion, made us suffer under the evils of a vicious calendar for a century longer, till after all we reformed it at once, at the expense of those of a sudden alteration, increased by the additional excess of a day, which had been created by the delay. All the advantages might have been obtained with scarce any of the evils, if we had merely left out the leap years for forty years. But this would have been a *gradual* measure, and the motives which we have suggested, probably prevented its adoption.\*

We hope, however, that they do not apply with their usual force to the case before us. Among the characteristics of the body of statesmen who now govern this country, are, permanence in power, and consistency of plans.—And they mutually re-act on one another. Nothing but a general conviction that a certain system of measures and tone of government is dependant on their continuing at the head of affairs, would have enabled them to keep their station, through so shifting a series of events: to weather the hazards of so much war, and, what is still more dangerous to an administration, of so much peace. And the habit of consistency will of course be strengthened, if it appear to be the tenure of power. We think therefore that the present ministry might originate a plan of gradual operation, with much less than the ordinary chance of its being ultimately abandoned. The measure too, which we propose, is perhaps less likely to be affected by a change of the hands in which power is deposited, than most others. It is not a political measure, intended to rectify or alter the balance of the constitution, by taking from the power of one class, or adding to that of another. Our object is to extricate the agricultural and the non-agricultural classes of the community from a situation, which cramps the resources, and injures the happiness, of both; and to replace them in that natural state, in which the prosperity of the one will constantly produce and re-produce that of the other. And we wish to do it gradually, in order to mitigate the evils with which the most beneficial alteration of an existing system must necessarily be attended.

And evils of execution are all that we anticipate. The Committee, it is true, see danger from ‘the dependence of this country for subsistence upon other, possibly hostile, countries.’ And ‘from

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\* Hence the remark of Bacon, ‘Quis novator tempus imitatur, quod novationes ita insinuat ut sensus fallant?’

a diminution of the weight, station, and ascendancy, which the landed interest has enjoyed so long, and used so beneficially.' p. 56. As to the first, when we recollect from how many sources our supplies of corn may be drawn, and that among them are Canada, the United States, the Baltic, France, the Mediterranean, and the Cape, countries so opposed to one another, in climate, position, and political interests; and when we consider the nature of commerce, so fertile in resources, and irrepressible by obstacles, we must conclude that a combination of circumstances, natural and political, which should prevent our deriving sufficient supplies from all these sources, or of supplying the deficiency by other means, is one of those remote contingencies, theoretically possible, and therefore fit materials for insincere argument, on which no man of practical wisdom would act, still less make important sacrifices.

As to the other danger, we too are anxious to support the landed interest;—we only differ from those who think themselves its warmer friends, as to the mode in which that support may best be afforded. We believe that the value of land depends on the quantity of its raw produce, and on the quantity and quality of the accumulated and unaccumulated labour, for which a given portion of that raw produce will exchange; that as the accumulated and unaccumulated labour, that is, the productive population and capital in a country, can be augmented in an increasing ratio, and the raw produce of its land only in a diminishing ratio, the best mode of increasing the value of land is to endeavour to increase, not the quantity of its raw produce, but the quantity and quality of the equivalents for which that raw produce is exchanged; and that from the bulky and perishable nature of raw agricultural produce, the increased difficulty with which every additional quantity of it is obtained, and its tendency, as affording the great necessary of life, to create its own demand, no monopoly can be permanently useful, no free importation permanently injurious, to the landholder. The tendency of a monopoly must be, by cramping the trade, and diminishing the quantity of the great necessary of life, in the country where it exists, to diminish, keep stationary, or retard in increase its productive population and capital, and consequently to diminish, keep stationary, or retard in increase the equivalents which can be exchanged for its raw produce. The deterioration of the market will more than compensate for its exclusive possession. The tendency of free importation must be, by enlarging the trade, and increasing the quantity of the great necessary of life, in the country where it exists, to increase its productive population and capital. There will be more consumers of raw produce, and those consumers will have more to exchange for it. As soon as these effects are felt, as soon (and it will be very soon)

soon) as the non-agricultural part of the community has had time to increase its numbers and wealth, the improvement in their market will more than compensate to the agriculturists, for the competition to which they will be exposed, limited as that must be, by the nature of the commodity. All experience shows that great agricultural prosperity must always be the effect of great commercial and manufacturing prosperity; all reasoning proves that it can never be the effect of measures, which tend to diminish the wealth, or limit the number, of consumers.

The remainder of the Report is occupied in remarks on the allegations of some of the agricultural petitions. The first mentioned are those in which 'the depression and distress of all those concerned in agriculture are mainly ascribed to the extent of our public burthens, coupled with their diminished means of bearing them.' And which insist that the price of corn must rise, in order to remunerate the grower, in the same ratio as the amount of the public revenue. To this the Committee answer, that

'Without denying that the price of corn may be in some degree affected by adding to our general taxation, and that any charges particularly paid by the farmer, such as tithes and poor rates, must tend more directly to raise that price; it is obvious, from what has been already stated, that the cost of growing corn in any country is regulated by the amount of capital necessary to produce it upon lands paying no rent, and that it is the price of the portion of corn which is so raised that determines the price of all other corn; and that an increase of general taxes, affecting alike the profits of capital in all the different branches of industry, would not necessarily raise the price of the particular produce of any one.'—p. 43, 44.

We agree with the Committee, that general taxation falls equally upon general capital, and that the increased amount of public revenue affords no reason for an increased price of corn. We are disposed indeed to go much farther; and to believe that an increase of taxation, instead of raising (which the Committee appear, from the context, to mean by 'affecting,') must have a tendency to sink, the price of corn, by diminishing the equivalents, which the remaining part of the society have to exchange for it; and that, as no legislative interference can increase those equivalents, no such interference can prevent corn from falling, in a period of war and consequent taxation. Other causes, indeed, may, and such a cause was the commercial monopoly enjoyed by us during the war: but the general truth of our proposition is strikingly illustrated by the fall in the price of corn, which the Committee remark to have been occasioned by the waste of capital and revenue in the American war. As to specific taxation on the farmer, such as tithes and poor rates, we have already stated our reasons

reasons for thinking that the price of corn is determined by supply and demand, and not, as the Committee suppose, 'by the price of the portion which is raised on lands paying no rent;' or, to use a more correct expression, which is raised by an application of capital, for the privilege of which application, no rent is paid:—and we believe that tithes and poor rates, so far as they are specific taxes on agricultural produce, have a tendency to diminish both the supply and the demand, without altering their relative proportions, and therefore without increasing the price. We think therefore that they must fall, and must remain, a burthen on the agriculturist, and will be felt first by the tenant, and ultimately by the landlord. But this no legislative interference can prevent, while the tax continues. Whether there are any means of commutating the first which we have mentioned, and removing the second, without incurring still greater inconveniences, we cannot now inquire. But as to general taxation, every reader will agree with the Committee, that

'However sanguine may be the hope that peace will afford increased facility and encouragement to further accumulation, it is not less the duty of Government directly to aid that accumulation, by diminishing our expenditure, and thus both to improve the comforts and to stimulate the skill and enterprize of those classes, by whose industry and savings the capital of the whole kingdom is augmented. This duty, important at all times, appears to Your Committee to be still more so, under the present circumstances of the country; for, whilst they are desirous of correcting the mistaken opinion, that the depression under which our Agriculture now labours, is either exclusively or principally to be attributed to taxation, they cannot disguise from themselves, that the weight of the public burthens of the country, their nominal amount remaining the same, must be more severely felt, in proportion as the money-incomes derived from trading, farming, and manufacturing capital and industry, are diminished. No exertion, therefore, should be omitted to endeavour to reduce those burthens, as nearly as circumstances will permit, in the degree in which such incomes may have been reduced: for, in considering this subject, it is important to bear in mind, that the general amount and real pressure of taxation have been positively increased in the proportion of the improved value of our currency.'—p. 45, 46.

The Committee next consider the prayer, to be found in most of the petitions, for protection for all the productions of agriculture, equal to the protection given to the manufacturers of this country.

To this the Committee reply; first, that the duty by which the petitioners wish that protection to be extended, would be prohibitory; and therefore that the principle, if acted upon, would go far to annihilate commercial intercourse altogether. Secondly,  
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that what the petitioners suppose to be a protecting duty, is often, as in the case of glass, a financial regulation to give effect to the heavy duty of excise imposed on it in this kingdom. Thirdly, that these protecting duties, as to our considerable manufactures, with the exception of silk, are in fact obsolete; our own superiority having made foreign competition in the home market impossible; and lastly, by an argument which we feel so difficult of comprehension, that we shall extract it.

‘There exists this most essential difference between the effect of protection given to the manufacturer, (even if he did not enjoy, from natural causes, a preference in the home market,) and the attempt at a similar protection and monopoly to the produce of the soil; that in all employment of capital, either in trade or manufactures, profits are limited by competition. If, for any length of time, or from any circumstances, profits are increased, in any particular branch, above the accustomed average, additional capital seeks employment in that branch, and profits are again speedily reduced to their former level. This would equally be the case if the demand for that particular article *were doubled*; and it may further frequently happen, as we have witnessed of late years, (in all goods, for instance, wrought of iron and cotton,) that, owing to discoveries in mechanical and chemical science, and improvements in the manufacture, an immense increase of consumption may be concomitant with, and probably, in a great degree, the result of, a great fall in price.

‘The same principle, it is true, applies to the capital and business of the farmer; but with this important distinction, that the price of corn, taken for any series of years, is necessarily regulated by the expense of production upon the lands which, at that price, make no return beyond the charge of raising it, together with the ordinary profit of the capital employed upon those lands. The cultivator of such lands, for the time, is upon a footing with the merchant and the manufacturer; but if the demand *for corn were doubled* it would force into cultivation poorer lands, requiring a larger capital to raise the same quantity of produce; the price of that produce would determine the price of the whole, or those poorer lands could not be maintained in cultivation; for there cannot permanently be two rates of profit in the same occupation. It is sufficient for your Committee to point out this ground of difference, and to leave it to the judgment of the House, in connection with the observations which they have already submitted in a former part of this Report.’—p. 48, 49.

We think that the argument which the Committee mean to employ is this;—that if the effect of the monopoly were, by confining the operation of the whole demand for any manufactured article within the home market, to make it more intense in that market, yet that the influx of capital into that manufacture, which the competition of capitalists would occasion, would create a proportionate increase of supply, and prevent the price from rising; but

but that an increased demand for corn in the home market must be met by an increase of supply, raised from poorer lands at a greater expense, and, on their principle, that the corn raised at the greatest expense regulates the price of the whole, occasioning, as to the whole quantity raised, an increase of price.

Without attempting to separate the truth and falsehood, which are so blended in the last argument, we will mention an answer to the prayer of the petitioners, which appears to us more satisfactory than any, except the first, of those used by the Committee: it is, that, supposing the protection intended to be afforded to one branch of our manufacturing industry to be effectual, it can be so only by being injurious to another. As foreigners will not give us their goods for nothing, the prohibition of the importation of foreign silk is a prohibition of the exportation of those articles of home production which must have been exported to obtain the silk, either in direct exchange, or in exchange for the bullion, or other commodities, for which the silk *was* directly exchanged. And as all interference renders the application of capital less profitable, the general result of our protecting duties upon our manufacturers must be injurious—and must tend to diminish their power, and certainly not to increase their obligation, to pay more for their subsistence.

The Committee lastly consider, p. 50. the objections of the petitioners against the warehousing system;—1st. as employing in the foreign, capitals which would be employed in the British, corn-trade; and 2dly, as depressing the market, by the notoriety that large quantities of foreign corn are already in the country ready to be poured in, when the price rises to 80s. The Committee answer, very sensibly, to the first objection, that they see no reason for supposing either that the capital engaged in the foreign corn-trade is large, or that any part of that capital is withdrawn from the British trade. And to the second, that whatever depression is produced by the accumulation in English warehouses, would be produced by an accumulation in Dutch, with this difference only, that the British grower would not have equally accurate information to guide his proceedings. And they add that the correspondence of this system with our general practice, the security it affords against the aggravation of our wants by foreign states, and the commercial advantages which it may afford, are sufficient reasons for not abandoning it, without further proof of its prejudicial effects on agriculture. They add that the supposition, that it has afforded a means for the fraudulent introduction of foreign corn into home consumption, appears (except to an inconsiderable, if any, extent) to be without foundation.

This is the last topic considered by the Committee. They end their Report with the following observations, with which, as they

express in better language our own feelings and sentiments, we, too, shall conclude:—

‘Instead of expressing doubts with respect to the remedies which have been suggested by others, it would have been far more satisfactory to your Committee, to have been enabled to conclude their labours by pointing out some immediate measure of alleviation, which would have been efficacious at once to mitigate the distress, and to allay the alarm which prevail among the agricultural classes of the community.

‘If such an expedient could have been found, even in a temporary departure from any sound and recognized principle of general policy on this subject, or in any modification of the existing law which could now be attempted, they might have been disposed to submit it to the favourable consideration of the House; but when, after a long and anxious inquiry, they have not been able to discover any means, which, in their estimation, are calculated immediately to remove the present pressure, they know too well their own duty to the House, and feel too much respect for the manly character of that class of the community whose difficulties have been the object of their investigation, either to attempt to disguise the view which they have taken of the origin and nature of those difficulties, or to recommend that specific plan of relief pointed out by the suffering parties, which, however sanctioned by the arguments and prayer of their Petitions, appears to be founded in delusion, and likely therefore to lead only to disappointment.

‘So far as the present depression in the markets of Agricultural produce is the effect of abundance from our own growth, the inconvenience arises from a cause which no legislative provision can alleviate; so far as it is the result of the increased value of our money, it is one not peculiar to the farmer, but which has been and still is experienced by many other classes of society.’—p. 53.

‘The difficulties, great as they are, in which it has involved the farming, the manufacturing and trading interests of the country, must diminish in proportion as contracts, prices, and labour, adjust themselves to the present value of money. That this change is now in progress, and has already taken place to a considerable degree, is in evidence before your Committee. They are satisfied that it will continue until that balance is restored, which will afford to labour its due remuneration, and to capital its fair return. And, although they deeply lament the derangement which the fluctuations of the last ten years in the value of the currency have occasioned in all the transactions of life, together with the individual loss and suffering unavoidably produced by the return to a fixed standard, they are satisfied that this was the only course which it was in the power of Parliament to adopt,—as well to prevent the continuance of a derangement, leading, as it must have led, to the aggravation of those losses and sufferings, as to manifest to the world the inflexible determination of this country, rigidly to adhere to that good faith of which the moral character of the people is the sure guardian, and which, with that character, has placed our greatness and our power upon the foundation, hitherto unshaken amidst all our vicissitudes, of public credit and national honour.’—p. 56.

ART.



ART. X.—ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ. ÆSCHYLI AGAMEMNON. *Ad fidem MSS. emendavit, Notas et Glossarium adjecit C. J. Blomfield, S. T. B. Coll. SS. Trin. apud Cant. olim Socius. Cantabrigiæ.*

THE author of the drama which we are about to review, was expressly fitted for the country and the age in which he lived; the splendour and the great events of which seem to harmonize with the grandeur and magnificence of his genius. He had the glory of fighting for his country in the battles of Marathon, Salamis and Plataea—and of exhibiting to his countrymen the Prometheus, the Agamemnon, and the Eumenides. He may be considered, with his master Phrynichus, as the father of the tragic drama of modern Europe; for though Thespis invented the dialogue, yet, as Bentley says, ‘all his plays were farcical interludes with Bacchus and the Satyrs, and Phrynichus and Æschylus were the introducers of real tragedy.’

Of Phrynichus a very few lines only are extant; two preserved by Athenæus, one in the argument of Æschylus's *Persæ*, one by Tzetzes on Lycophron, and an epigram in Plut. *Symp. Q. viii.* yet the heavy fine imposed upon him for exciting too much commiseration by his play of the *Μιλήτου Ἀλωσις*, (a fact recorded by Strabo, Herodotus, and others,) seems to speak highly in favour of his tragic powers. Of Æschylus, seven tragedies have been preserved; a small remnant out of seventy-five, according to the anonymous author of his life, ninety according to Suidas, or still more, according to the modern catalogues of Fabricius and Meursius; but yet enough to convince us, that he was, perhaps, of all the tragic poets that ever lived, the greatest master of the *sublime* and the *terrible*, and that there was a sort of colossal grandeur in his conceptions which communicated itself to his diction. The wildest and most difficult of subjects, which poets of other ages and countries would have shrunk from dramatizing, seem to have been most congenial to his taste, and to have afforded the fairest field for his ardent imagination. He delighted in fabulous monsters, supernatural beings, and in deepening the terrors of the gloomiest parts of the pagan superstition. In common with the other tragedians he drew largely on the ante-homeric times for fables, which, though containing historical truth, yet from their antiquity admitted the embellishment of poetical fiction. Such, among others, were those of Phineus and the Harpies, the Gorgons, the Heliades, and the Cabiri; that of Prometheus, in the three plays of *Πυρφόρος*, *Δεσμώτης*, and *Λυόμενος*; the two on the subject of Sisyphus, in one of which he was described undergoing his punishment in the infernal regions; and the *Ψυχαστασία*, a singular piece, in which Jove was introduced weighing

the souls of Achilles and Memnon, while Thetis and Aurora were pleading for their respective sons before his throne. We may also add to the subjects of this extraordinary class, the Orithyia, which, though not included in the catalogue of his plays, is inserted in the list by Ruhnkens, from a MS. Joannes Siceliota on Hermogenes.

The Agamemnon, it appears, was acted in the 80th Olympiad in the Archonship of Philocles,\* and is generally considered as the finest of Æschylus's plays. Salmasius, in præfat. ad librum de Lingua Hellenistica, has cited it as a specimen of classical obscurity; yet it certainly is less obscure and corrupt than the *Χοηφόροι*, or the *Ἰκέτιδες*, the latter of which labours, besides, under additional difficulties from the usage of many Doric and Sicilian phrases. One of the causes of the general preference of this play may be found in the character of Cassandra, which unites, in a wonderful degree, the powers of the pathetic and sublime; another may be discovered in the nature of the plot, which has more variety and perhaps interest than others from the same hand. But the Greek poets were so fruitful in invention, so powerful in execution, the Greek audiences so refined in their taste, so wrapt up in the beauties of the poetry, the dignity of sentiment, the delineation of character, and the striking and affecting portraiture of the most powerful passions of the human heart, that they never sought (like the modern stage) to excite either interest or curiosity by intricacy of plot, or variety of incident.

This play (an imperfect portion of which, not amounting to

\* The archonship of Philocles was in the 2d year of the 80th Olymp., and the death of Æschylus is fixed by the Arundel marbles and the Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Achar.* 10., a year previous; we conceive therefore that this was a reproduction of the play by ἐκ μέρους *Ἀλκχιδαν*: for there is every reason to believe that the Eumenides, one of the four plays composing the Tetralogia called the Orestia, (and consequently the remaining three,) was acted many years before, when the author was resident at Athens; and indeed was the main cause of his retirement to Sicily, in consequence of the disgrace and danger which he incurred by the accident that happened at its representation, from the terror occasioned by the chorus of Furies.

On the reproduction of the Greek tragedies much interesting matter may be seen in Boeck's treatise on the subject, to which we beg leave to refer the curious reader; he will there find many plausible reasons for supposing that the Iphigenia in Aulis is a *rifacimento* by the nephew, of the old play of Euripides, the uncle.

One word more. Our readers need not be informed that it was the practice at Athens, in the three great Bacchic festivals, for each contending poet to produce on the stage, not one single piece but generally three or four, called Trilogia or Tetralogia, each play being a continuation or sequel of the preceding one. Thus the Orestia contained the four plays of Agamemnon, Choephore, Eumenides, and Proteus: that is, the murder of Agamemnon, the murder of Clytemnestra by her son in revenge, and his persecution by the Furies. Pretty much in the manner of some of Shakspeare's Historical plays: with this advantage however on the side of the Greek poets, that they preserved the unities, and yet gratified the curiosity of the spectators by the continuation of the story, and enforced the moral lesson more strongly by the exhibition of the final result. An objection may be started against this practice on account of the length of the exhibition; but the Athenians were insatiable spectators, and their patience never seems to have been exhausted except by dulness and mediocrity.

one-fifth, was edited by Aldus, Robortelli and Turnebus) was first given entire in the edition of Stephens, from Victorius's Medicean MS. now in the Florentine library. It appears from Dr. Blomfield's Preface, that there are two MSS. in that library, which contain the *Agamemnon* entire; the one in question, and another, —a collation of which he has prefixed, and which, as he justly observes, contains some remarkable readings. The Venetian MS. is imperfect; and we think the learned editor offers a very good reason for concluding that Robortelli never used it.

The *Agamemnon* has exercised the learning and ingenuity of several eminent persons from the days of Victorius and Stephanus down to the present time. Of those it will be sufficient to mention the learned and indefatigable Canter, Casaubon, who meditated an edition of it, Auratus, Abreschius, Stanley, (to whom we are indebted for a complete and valuable edition, and who has introduced some excellent readings,) Heath, Hermann, Schutz, who, though he might be guilty of oversights and interpolations in his text, and careless and scanty in his notation of the *Varietas Lectio*nis, was yet the introducer of some very judicious readings; and, lastly, Porson, who, though he did not profess to give an edition of *Æschylus*, yet emended the text in several places, and in others placed his *obelus* before what he considered doubtful or corrupt.

The present editor has brought a vast fund of learning to his task; he has very happily illustrated the text in several places, and added a very erudite and valuable glossary. We could indeed have wished he had been a little more sparing in his alterations of the text, and in his new arrangement of the choral measures. We shall, in the proper place, take the liberty of expressing our opinion in detail, with the same spirit of candour and urbanity that so highly distinguishes this eminent scholar. But before we enter on this subject, we must not omit to notice an imputation contained in the preface against Stauley, of plagiarism committed by him on the MS. notes of Casaubon. We are perfectly satisfied of the honourable motives, and of the sincere love of truth which actuated the learned editor on the present occasion, and we admire the liberality with which he submits his opinion to the judgment of the literary world. His statement is as follows:

'Casauboni conjecturas, quæ passim memorantur, ex margine libri cujusdam in bibliotheca regis Gallorum adservati desumtas, Needhamio transmisit Joannes de Burigny. Sic describitur a Vauvillerio: "*Æschyli Agamemnon*, cum Isaaci Casauboni interpretatione interlineari. Accedunt ejusdem notæ et observationes eruditissimæ. Is codex ipsius Casauboni manu anno 1610. exaratus, jam diu furto ablatas e bibliotheca regia, tandem anno 1729. ære regio redemptus est." Vauvillerius autem jure miratur prodigiosum multis in locis consensum inter Casaubonum et Stanleium, de quo ipse lector ex annotat. one nostra judicare poterit.

poterit. Et is quidem talis est, ut vel Stanleium hunc librum compilasse, vel hujus libri scriptorem, quisquis demum fuerit, emendationes Stanleianas in suos usus convertisse, etiam atque etiam adfirmare audeam. Jam vero, quum Boissonadus, vir judicii in hujusmodi rebus probe exercitati, tradat scripturam hujus codicis esse duplicem, utramque autem videri antiquiorem anno 1663. quo publica facta est Stanleiana editio; ceteros nescio, ego certe in ea opinione persto, quam annis abhinc aliquot caute proposui, non, ita me Deus amet, calumniandi studio aut invidia, sed puro ac simplice veritatis amore impulsus. Alia argumenta haud sane levia, quibus hanc opinionem stabilire possem, in medium proferre supersedeo, quum nihil magis absit, quam ut Stanleio meritos honores, hærentemque capiti multa cum laude coronam detrahare velim.—p. vi—viii.

The summary of the statement is, that the MS. of Casaubon was stolen from the Royal library of Paris, was missing for a number of years, and was not returned till long after the publication of *Æschylus* by Stanley. So far goes the external evidence; nor has any thing been adduced to bring the book into the possession of Stanley. The matter, therefore, beyond this, rests on the internal evidence, and on the singular coincidence of Stanley's conjectures with those of Casaubon. See lines 208. 277. 647. 790. 921. 1070. 1091. 1232. 1585. Such a coincidence would, in *general*, be of itself quite sufficient to convict one of the parties of plagiarism; but we should consider the peculiarities of this branch of authorship, and remember that the two persons had exactly the same *data* to go on, the same corruptions to deal with, the same vestiges of words and letters to insist upon.

Some conjectural emendations are so apt, discover so much vigour of intellect and happiness of invention, that a casual coincidence would be next to impossible. If, indeed, these conjectures had resembled those of Bentley on Julius Pollux in his letter to Hemsterhusius; if they had been like the emendation on the epigram of Dioscorides in vain attempted by Stanley—*νοήσιμα ετα χαράξας* (*νεοσμίλευτα*); or on that passage of Plutarch in the epistle to Mill, *Αρμονίαν καλεῖσθαι μεροπιν* (*καλεῖ θεμερῶπιν*); or, to come to our author, if they had been like that of Porson on a line in this very play *διοσδότῳ γάνει* (1362), or that of the same critic on Hippolytus 79. *Ὅσοις διδασκτὸν μηδὲν* (*ὅσις*), in support of which he produces a vast stock of philological demonstration; or that beautiful one in *Electra* 181, *δάκρυσι χεύω* (*χορεύω*); or that on *Ion* apud Plut. de Consol. ad Apollon. *Ἐξῆλθεν ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ ἡμῶν τρόφος* (*ἐξῆλθεν ἡ μόνη τε καὶ τλήμων τρόφος*);—if, we repeat, they had been of this nature, the question would have been decided at once. But in the passages above enumerated, where the two critics coincide, their conjectures upon examination appear to us to be at once so obvious, so within the reach of almost any one, that we are far  
from

from thinking the coincidence might not have been accidental: \* they may (and we cannot admit more) afford subject of suspicion, but are by no means conclusive without further and stronger evidence.

We shall now proceed with our observations on the text.

Line 10. ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζον.] We agree altogether with Dr. Blomfield in his interpretation of ἀνδρόβουλος, and cannot but wonder that Stanley should have rendered it '*viro insidiantem*,' which would have been ἀνδρεπίβουλος, if such a word were admissible. Γυναικοβούλους τε μητίδας φρενῶν in the Choephoræ gives the exact counterpart of this word. Ἀνδρόφρων, γυναικόφρων have the same meaning. See Dr. Blomfield's Glossary for the former; and Eur. apud Stob. III. for the latter: Γυναικόφρων γὰρ θυμὸς, οὐκ ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ.

When Dr. Blomfield recalled the reading of Robortelli and the MS. Venet. ἐλπίζον, which we conceive to be corrupt, he should, we think, have given us some authority for this usage of the participle ἐλπίζον put absolutely as if it had been the adjective ἐυέλπις. The active participle governs something, requires something after it, either infinitive, accusative, or sentence expressing the subject of the hope. Thus Soph. Trach. III: Δύστανον ἐλπίζουσιν αἰσάν. Æsch. Cho. 537. Ἄκος τομαῖον ἐλπίσασα πημάτων. Besides in a periphrasis, such as Γυναικὸς κέαρ, the accumulation of two epithets (ἀνδρόβουλον and ἐλπίζον) strikes us as neither elegant, nor idiomatical Greek: Homer would say ἱερὴ ἴς Ἀλκίνοιο, but not ἱερὴ ἴς Ἀλκίνοιο δεδογμένη, and the reading ἐλπίζον is directly in the teeth of the learned and judicious note of Porson on Hec. 293. to which we refer, as well as to the passage in the text of Euripides, φίλον γένειον, a periphrasis of Ulysses, which is followed by ἐλθών, not ἐλθόν. We hardly need explain our conception of the passage as it stood before Dr. Blomfield's alteration, viz. that ἐλπίζω is used in the sense of νομίζω, as it is very commonly. Eur. Ion. 348. Θῆρας σφε τὸν δύστηνον ἐλπίζει κλανεῖν: Eur. Hipp. 97. Ἡ καὶ θεοῖσι τὰυτὸν ἐλπίζεις τόδε.

V. 13. ἐμὴν] This is one of those passages which we are sorry

\* We may here opportunely cite the words of Bentley, on Phalaris 333.

† Though the misfortune is that for Δίεως we must read it there Δίδως, as it is plain from Herodotus, Strabo and others. I had corrected this when I knew not any other had done it. But it was well for me that before I printed it I lit on Meursius's *Fortuna Attica*, where I found the same correction. For if Mr. Boyle had met with the same passage, when next he appears in print, I had been branded as a plagiarist. And yet, I do not believe that Meursius was a plagiarist, though I find that long before his time this very same emendation, and by the same proofs, was made by Brodaeus, in his notes upon Anthol. Epigram. For a man would have very hard measure, if, because another whom he knew not of, had lit upon the same thought, he must be traduced as a plagiarist, though it appear from the rest of his performances (which are certainly new and his own) that he was very able to do that too without stealing from others.

to see disturbed. The substitution of τότε for γὰρ destroys the Atticism of the construction, and reduces it more to the level of common language. The force and propriety of the particle γὰρ are pointed out by the preceding οὐκ ἐπισκοπούμενην. Far from objecting to the unfinished state of the sentence, we look upon it as a peculiarity appropriate to the nature of dramatic soliloquy in general, and consonant to the usages of Attic writers in particular. No one knows better than Dr. Blomfield (see his note on v. 629.) that the Attics indulged frequently in unfinished sentences, and that even their *solecisms* have been made the subject of remark by the ancient grammarians. Eust. II. 179. Bentley on Phal. 318. Lesbonax ed. Valck. Homer, Plato, Thucydides, and the dramatic writers, (see Eur. Hipp. 23.) abound in them—a *fortiori*, why should we be here offended with an unfinished sentence in the passage before us?

V. 43. Τιμῆς ὀχυρὸν—Dr. Blomfield says, ‘*Ἀτρειδᾶν* Rob. recentiores. Dorismos ex anapæstis rejeci.’ We regret that he did eject the Dorisms of *Ἀτρειδᾶν* χιλιοναύταν, and ἀρωγάν: as to ἀρωγῆς κατακαρφομένης, διακναιομένης, he has on his side the authority of all the books. We look upon Porson’s method to be the most safe. Hec. 100. ‘In Anapæstis neque semper neque nunquam Dorica dialecto utuntur Tragici. Ubi igitur in communi forma MSS. consentiunt, communem formam retinui; ubi codex unus et alter Dorismum habet, Dorismum restitui.’ The argument arising from the fluctuation of MSS. appears to us rather against Mr. Blomfield;—the probability is that the copyists frequently substituted the common form, to the prejudice of the uncommon or Doric. Several words, such as Τλάμων, μάτηρ, δυστανος, ἑμὰ, γεινοίμαν, plural genitives of the first declension, such as *Ἀτρειδᾶν*, *Ἐρεχθειδᾶν*, the feminine participles, as ἀπελευνομένα, φοινισσομένα, occur most commonly in the Doric form. Dr. Blomfield surely would not, in Polyxena’s lamentations in the Hecuba, read Σὲ μὲν ὦ μήτηρ δύστηνε βίου for Σὲ μὲν ὦ μάτερ δύστανε βίου, or δυστηνοτάτης μητερος for δυστανοτάτας μάτερος.

V. 48. Τρόπον αἰγυπῶν.—Dr. Blomfield has done well in not admitting ἐκπάγλοις, his own conjecture, into the text, a reading which, according to our ideas, would deprive the passage of its beauty, and substitute a common-place epithet for one highly appropriate and descriptive of the scenery. We understand ἐκπαλίοις not, with the Scholiast, ‘as a figure of speech called enallage’ (θεὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν ἐκπαλίαν παιδῶν): but literally, viz. ‘the solitary remote mourning of the birds, their mourning in unfrequented places far from the path of man, where their nests were built.’ In line 53 we decidedly object to Musgrave’s proposed reading of Γόνον for Πόνον, as we did to ἐκπάγλοις, because, in our opinion, it would

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take from the figurativeness of the poetry and the splendour of the passage. Πόνον δλεσάντες is absurdly understood by Potter and others, as equivalent to the English expression 'losing their pains,' which is sufficiently refuted by the epithet δεινιοτήρη. It evidently means, by a bold figure, what would be expressed in common Greek thus, δλέσαντες τοὺς ὀρεαλίχους ἢ' οἷς πεπονηκότες εἰεν. Euripides Herc. F. 1039. has an exactly parallel passage: 'Ο ὅς τις ὄρνις ἀπλερον καταστένων Ὠβίνα τέκνων, that is, τέκνα ἀπλερον δι' ἃ ὠδίνας τ. ε. Spenser, whether from imitation, or more probably from the coincidence of poetical sentiment, elegantly uses the same figure, is speaking of a hind deprived of her young.

'Right sorrowfully mourning her bereaved cares.'

V. 69. ἀπύρων ἱερῶν. On this passage numerous conjectures have been indulged by Turnebus, Casaubon, and Schutz. Dr. Blomfield says 'locus difficillimus.' But in the infinite variety of temples and rites in Greece, how can we say what temples or forms of worship the poet had in view on the present occasion? The sense of the context naturally leads us to the temples of some stern and unrelenting divinities. We must give the author credit for understanding what he wrote, and for the propriety of his epithets; his general meaning is clear: at any rate, it would appear more safe to acquiesce in a state of doubtful information, than, upon the negative evidence of Dr. Blomfield's Glossary, to re-write such a passage as this, where the doctrine of fatalism, so familiar on the Greek theatre, is rendered still more awful and impressive by the grandeur and magnificence of the poetry.

We see no reason for Schutz's alteration of ὑπολείθων into ἐπιλείθων; ὑπολείθων is the more ancient and poetic compound: ὑποπίνων occurs in the fragments of the *old* and *genuine* Anacreon. Dr. Blomfield's attempt at emendation in the Addenda does not strike us as very happy, because the nominative which at present runs through the sentence, contained in and carried on through the several participles regularly and uniformly by the common link οὔτε between each, is, in the proposed alteration, dropt abruptly, the harmony of the construction lost, and the sentence left in a state of dislocation.

V. 105. πειθῶ μολπᾶν. Dr. Blomfield has very happily explained this passage without any alteration, except of stops and accents.

The choral measures of Æschylus, which were much confused in the early editions of Aldus, Robertellus and Turnebus, were reduced into order by Canter, who has been generally followed by Stanley and the Glasgow edition, which last we conceive to be the standard authority, from which we are by no means lightly disposed to deviate: though we admit that Dr. Blomfield has very happily done



done so here by reducing the latter strophes and antistrophes of this chorus into order, beginning at v. 211. But we must proceed regularly.—The advantage of Dr. Blomfield's, or rather of Dr. Burney's disposition of the first strophe and antistrophe of this chorus, (which indeed is but slightly altered from the Glasgow edition,) is the producing a greater number of dactyls, and consequently a greater uniformity of metre: still, however, since all the verses, as they stand in the Glasgow edition, are of a known and acknowledged metre, it may be questioned whether this supposed advantage be not dearly purchased by dividing the words Ἀχαι-ῶν and ἱ-κταρ, which produces a bad effect to our ear.

V. 117. βοσκόμενοι λαγίναν. We were surprized at seeing the old reading of Aldus, Rob. et Turn. ἐριχύματα restored, together with φέρματα from one of the Medicean MSS. Our objection is not to ἐριχύματα, though a rare form, as ἀκύματος occurs in Eur. apud Poll. but to the whole sense of the passage which in the present edition reduces itself to an absurdity. Neither Dr. Blomfield nor Dr. Butler, who would here read λαγίδαν, seems to have caught the meaning of λαγίναν γένναν, which is the hare itself, so called by a figure too common to require illustration. If this was not sufficiently plain in itself, it is put beyond all question, by βλαβέντα λοισθίων δρόμων, 'overtaken in her last course.' According to Dr. Blomfield's reading and interpretation, however, this would be predicated of the unborn fœtus. How could what was not born be said to run its last course, (implying that it had often run before,) or how, indeed, to run at all? The poet is speaking of the hare—pursued, overtaken and devoured: the pregnancy of the animal is introduced only as an additional circumstance, a descriptive peculiarity, aggravating compassion and typifying the events to come. The error lies in the introduction of φέρματα, which is entirely his own; besides, ἐριχύματα means *pregnant and fruitful to a great degree*, not, as the glossary has it, '*ad magnum numerum in utero concepta*;' coupled, therefore, with φέρματα, it can have no intelligible force or propriety. Βλαβέντα, according to the rule of periphrasis noticed above, is in the proper gender, referring to λαγών.

124. ἀγρεῖ. Mr. Elmsley and Dr. Blomfield, against the authority of all editions and MSS. substitute αἰρεῖ for ἀγρεῖ, though they allow the latter to be an ancient and unexceptionable word, occurring in Archilochus, apud Athen. xi. 483. And why?—because Herodotus, a prose writer, uses the common word αἰρεῖ, and Sophocles also in a plain passage in the dialogue: But we cannot see why, because these writers choose to express themselves in ordinary language as their subject required, Æschylus may not be allowed

allowed to put a bold, metaphorical and somewhat antiquated phrase in the mouth of a prophet.

129. Μή τις ἄγα. Dr. Blomfield ingeniously and, we think, happily reads ἄγα for ἄτα: (Dr. Burney had proposed ἄσα.) His ἀργᾶς for ἀργίας is yet more fortunate. We see, however, no reason for preferring στρατῶν to στρατευθῆν. Eur. Phœn. 614. ἐπεστρατευμένου. Pind. Pyth. I. 98. Ἑστρατεύθη. Apollonius Rhodius indeed uses στρατόωντο.

137. 143. Δέξια μὲν—We do not quite comprehend Dr. Blomfield's punctuation and interpretation of this passage, nor conceive how Calchas's speech can recommence at Δέξια μὲν, or, in that case, how he would understand αἰτῇ, which he leaves in the text. The difficulty appears to us to lie in the small space of two letters (εἰ), and for αἰτῇ we would read αἰτῇ, from Hesychius, who explains it by the word ἀπλήρωτον: consequently αἰτῇ εὐμβολα would mean *the unfulfilled signs or symbols*. If we reject στρουθῶν, we should read τῶνδε from the τῶν in the Med. MS. Dr. Blomfield has obelized the word ἀέπλοις which Stephens introduced from conjecture, which has been adopted in subsequent editions, and which now appears to be the reading of the Med. MS. Whether we adopt the Scholiast's interpretation of it, ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος τῇ μητρὶ ἔπεισθαι, or the '*nondum volatilibus*' of Stanley, (which would be a figure resembling the πηνὸς κύων above, in this drama and in the Prometheus,) Dr. Blomfield must allow us to observe that the charge of absurdity which he has brought against the old Scholiast, Schutz and Dr. Butler, for adopting the former signification, is wholly founded upon a misconception of the meaning of δρόσοι. His words are, '*Vix opus est ut pluribus ostendam quàm absurde diceretur factus in utero latens ἔπεισθαι τοῖς γονεῦσι μὴ δυνάμενος.*' But δρόσοι are the young lions *horn*. Etym. Mag. Ἐρσαι αἱ ἐν ἔαρι γεννηθεῖσαι αἱ ἀπαλαὶ καὶ τελείως νέαι. Καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι τοὺς σκυμνοὺς τῶν λεόντων δρόσους κέκληκε. So also the Scholiast. δρόσοισι, τοῖς νεογνοῖς:—As the matter stands, we fluctuate between ἀέπλοις the reading of the Med. MS. and the editions from Stephens downwards, and ἀέλπλοις the reading of Aldus, Robortellus, Turnebus and the Med. Φ, which is also confirmed by Hesychius, (see the word,) who explains it δεινοῖς ἰσχυροῖς, and cites the Πρωτεύς of Æschylus, and ἀάπλοις which would be an obvious conjecture.

144. Ἰήιον. ἰήιος is, as Dr. Blomfield properly observes, of Ægyptian origin; indeed ἰῃ, the solemn invocation in sacrifice, is evidently the יָה or Jah of the Hebrews.

211. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνάγκης. The confusion in the strophes and antistrophes from this to the end of the chorus, (which has been so happily rectified by Mr. Elmsley, whom Dr. Blomfield has followed,) probably arose from the correspondence of the two lines,

φράσεν

φράσεν δ' ἀόζους, &c. and δίκαν χιμαίρας, &c. with the first two of the strophe; so that they were made the two first of the antistrophe instead of Διτὰς δὲ καὶ, &c. as now arranged. Though we readily admit the merit of the discovery, and the right placing of the strophe and antistrophe, we must yet express our dissent from the manner in which certain of the lines have been distributed, beginning with 217—

Πρωτοπήμεν' ἴτλα δ' οὖ, θυτὴρ γινέσθαι.

The greatest caution is required from those who meddle with the arrangement of the chorus: no line should be introduced, unless, as Porson has observed, it be of a well known and acknowledged metre, and for satisfactory reasons. The line in question is at once anomalous, harsh and dissonant;—two cretic feet and an ithyphallic! where will its fellow be found in *Æschylus*?

The next line,

Θυγατρὸς, γυναικοποιῶν πολέμῳ ἀεργάν,

is, as a choriambic, inadmissible, and as an antispastic, we believe, without example. In a word, we protest against both as downright prose. The same objection lies against 226 and 227 of the antistrophe. We may be mistaken, but till we see instances of such lines from the dramatic writers, or from Pindar, we must be permitted to consider them as altogether inadmissible and barbarous. There is also a great violence in separating γινέσθαι from θυγατρὸς, where the pause of the sense naturally falls; and the Greeks appear to have been very careful in arranging the pauses of their verses in lyrical compositions according to the sense. We are glad on this occasion to quote the words of the learned Hermannus.

\* Veræ sunt et genuinæ versuum distribuendorum causæ. In quibus primo loco commemoranda interpunctio est, orationisque terminatio. Quæ etsi non magnam habent vim in finibus atque initiis versuum inveniendis, haud tamen spernenda est eorum admonitio. Sæpissime enim, ut par est, ubi versus et numeri terminantur, ibi etiam orationis aliqua incisio et pausa fit. Neque enim sine quadam molestia, ubi numeri ulterius progrediuntur, finiri oratio potest, nec contrà quum desinunt numeri, rectè continuabitur orationis circuitus.—*Comment. de Metris Pind.*

We would propose to arrange them thus:

Πρωτοπήμεν' ἴτλα δ' οὖ

Θυτὴρ γινέσθαι θυγατρὸς,

Γυναικοποιῶν πολέμῳ ἀεργάν.

The first line is well known, resembling Σμήνος ὡς ἐκλέλοιπε, *Æsch. Persæ*; or Φάσμα δόξει δόμων ἀνάσσειν in this play. The second is equally so, being a dimeter choriambic, as *Æsch. Choeph.* Δνόφοι καλύπτουσι δόμους. The third is a choriambic trimeter catalectic

lectic (only with an iambic syzygy for a pure choriambus) and resembles this line of Anacreon in Hephæstion: *Δακρυόεσσαν τ' ἐφίλησεν αἰχμάν*. Of course we read in the antistrophe,

Παντὶ θυμῷ προνοπῇ  
 Λαβὴν αἰεθὴν, στόματος  
 Τε καλλιπέρου φυλακὰν κατασχεῖν.

Τε frequently commences the line, Pind. Pyth. v. 154. Θ' Ἀρμα-  
 τηλάτας σοφός. Pyth. ix. 22. Τε γάμον μιχθέντι κούρα.

We should readily adopt Dr. Blomfield's interpretation of τὸ παντότολμον φρονεῖν μετέγνω, had we ever known μετέγνω used in the sense of *destruit*, but we have always found it with a different meaning. Eur. Med. 63. Μετέγνωσι καὶ τὰ πρόσθ' εἰρημένα. Soph. Phil. 1270, Οὐκ οὐκ ἔστι καὶ μεταγνῶναι πάλιν. Thucydides I. 'Εν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μετέγνωσαν Κερκυραῖοι μὲν μὴ ποιήσασθαι ξυμμαχίαν. There is a sort of awkwardness, too, we think, in the position of γὰρ; it usually follows earlier in a sentence. We understand the passage as it stands, thus, (ὁ νῆς sub.) βροτοῖς μετέγνω φρονεῖν τὸ παντότολμον, '*mortal men repent of their audaciousness*.'

227. Φυλακὰν κατασχεῖν. This expression bears a strong resemblance to one in the Psalms: '*Set a watch on my lips*.' Lucian applies a similar metaphor to the ears. Ἀκριβοῦς θυρωρὸν τὸν λογισμὸν τοῖς λεγομένοις.

235.

Πατὴρ κατ' Ἀιδεῶνας ὑτραπίζους  
 Ἐμείλψιν, ἀγὰρ δ' ἀταύρωτος αὐδᾶ  
 Φίλου τριτόσποιδος εὐποτμοι τ'.

We object to the disposition of these three lines, of which, we believe, it would be difficult to find another example: to us they appear rather constructed by the finger than by the ear. The pause, or end of the verse, which is beautiful at Ἐμείλψιν, is entirely destroyed by putting that word at the beginning of the immeasurable long line of a *dochmiac* and two *antispastuses*. We would read them thus:

Πατὴρ κατ' αἰδεῶνας  
 Ἐτραπίζους Ἐμείλψιν:  
 Ἀγὰρ δ' ἀταύρωτος αὐδᾶ  
 Πατὴρ Φίλου τριτόσποιδος  
 Εὐποτμοὶ τ' αἰῶνα φίλως ἱτίμα.

#### ANTISTROPHE.

Τορὸν γὰρ ἤξει σύν-  
 αέθρον αὐτᾶν: πῖλοιτο  
 Δ' οὐ τὰ πῖ τοῦτοιςιν εὐπραξ-  
 ις, ὡς θέλει τόδ' ἄγχιστοι  
 Ἀπίας γαίᾳς μονόφρουροι Ἰρκας.

Δε frequently commences a verse with the lyric poets. Pind. Pyth. I. 61. 65.

Those

Those who compare our disposition of the above lines with that in the Glasgow edition, will see that that the change is much less violent; at any rate the line *εὐτραπέζους ἐμελψιν* with its beautiful pause, speaks for itself, and is perfectly Æschylean as *Σμῆνος ὥς ἐκλέλοιπε*, cited above. *Ἀγνᾶ δ' ἀτάρως αὐδᾶ* is an iambic and trochaic syzygy, a very common verse, like this in Sept. contra Theb. *Δόμων μάλ' ἀχὼ ἐπ' αὐτοῦς. Πατὴρ δὲ φίλον τριτόσπονδον*, antispastic dim. acat. see Hermannus de Metris, and the line cited in Hephæstion—*Ὄδοντι σκυλακοκτόνῳ*.

The last line is a Sapphic or Pindaric, like *Χρυσοδαυιδάλτους στομίῳσι πῶλους*.—Eur. Iph. Aul. 219. Pindar has the like amongst the variety of his *asynarteta*, though he more frequently continues the dactyls to the end of the verse, and does not recur, as is done in this line, to the trochees. See Pyth. ix.

Πάθεισι κιδναὶ χερὶ χιρὸς ἰλὼν,  
Ἄγι' ἱππιυτάι Νομάδων δὲ ὄμιλος.

With respect to the meaning of these three lines (235. 6. and 7) Dr. Blomfield is perfectly correct, and Pauw and Hermann egregiously mistaken. The tense *ἐτίμα* evidently implies the continuity of an action incomplete, and refers to what she was *in the habit of doing* in her father's house, viz. singing and (literally in the Greek idiom) doing honour to the days or life of her father, (*Anglice*, she was the delight of his life,) and not, as Hermann says, to one *particular act* of self-devotion at the altar, which would require another tense. *Αἰὼν* is the life or state of living of Agamemnon as it occurs in Pind. Ol. i. *Αἰὼν τ' ἔφεπε μόρσιμος* and *Αἰὼν δ' ἀσφαλής*.—*Οὐκ ἔγεντ' οὗτ' Αἰακίδα παρὰ Πηλεΐ*. The poet is beautifully contrasting the present situation of Iphigenia on the point of being sacrificed, with her former happiness in her father's palace, on which he dwells, after he had wound up expectation and feeling to the utmost in representing her as *προσεννέπειν θέλουσα*, and thus drops the curtain purposely before the dreadful sacrifice is performed.

255. *ὥσπερ ἡ παροιμία*. We should have been pleased to find some illustration of this passage. It would appear that the poet played upon or parodied some proverb. Perhaps *υἱός*, the reading which Dr. Blomfield mentions, was the word of the proverb changed by the poet into *ἑως* to suit his meaning, as *εὐφρόνης* might have been substituted for *εὐφρονος*.

277. 8. *νωτίσαι*—*πρὸς ἡδονήν*. The words *νωτίζω* and *ἐπινωτίζω* are used in the same sense as *νωτίσαι* is here, in Eur. Phœn. 663, (see Porson,) and Herc. F. 362. *Κατανωτίζω* occurs in the same sense in Longus, p. 18, l. 7. ed. Schaef. See also Wakefield in Trag. Del. tom. i. p. 39. *Ἀπονωτίζω* has a different meaning (*in*

*fugam*

*fugam verto*) Eur. Bacch. 762; and *πῶτίζω* is a neuter verb (signifying *terga do*) in Eur. And. 1142.

There is we think a manifest corruption in this passage which neither Dr. Blomfield nor any of the other editors have noticed: Schutz alone has hinted at it, but without pointing it out. If we remember rightly, he suspects that the name of a station is wanting.\* In our opinion the corruption is pointed out by the defec-tiveness of the sentence, which has no verb; and we venture further to affirm, that the fault lies in the phrase *πρὸς ἡδονήν*—all the usages of which adduced in Dr. Blomfield's Glossary are foreign from this passage. *Πρὸς ἡδονήν* is an expression used in the interchange of conversation, and is joined with *εἶναι*, *γενέσθαι*, *λέγειν*, or *λόγος*, meaning pretty much the same as the French *à faire plaisir*. *Παραγγέλλειν πρὸς ἡδονήν* may very probably be Greek, though we recollect no instance of it, but the words before us are too far separated to be conjoined by the usages of construction; we therefore propose to read *προσῆνυτεν*, i. e. *advanced*, or *increased*, (though this is but an imperfect translation of it,) for *πρὸς ἡδονήν*. It will be readily allowed that *άνύτω* in this sense is very familiar to the tragic writers; as Eur. Hipp. 745, ἐπὶ μὴλόσπορον ἄκτάν' Ἀνύσαιμι. The compound *προσανύτω* is more rare; but how many rare words are there in this very play of Æschylus! *προσχάινει*, *παροσκαπῶ*, &c. Besides, this word or its cognate form occurs in Hesychius (a tragic lexicon) exactly in the sense that suits this passage: *Προσανῶν, προσαύξων' άνυν γὰρ τὸ αὔξειν, καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν αὔξησιν*. For *αὐτὴν*, which is manifestly corrupt, Sopingius reads *ανυσιν*; I. Vossius, *ανυτὴν*. See Alberti's Hesychius: *άνην τὴν αὔξησιν' ανισθαι, αὔξανεσθαι' ανυσις, αὔξησις*. It might be proposed in this passage of Hesychius for *προσανῶν* to read *προσανῶον*, or *προσανύτων*; but it is immaterial for our purpose, as it is well known that *άνω*, *άνύω* and *άνύτω* are cognate forms. See Eustathius 802. K. *Πρωτότυπον τοῦ άνύω τὸ άνω κείμενον καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐα: άνομένων* occurs in Æsch. Cho. 793. in a very difficult passage, *άνομένων βημάτων ὄρεγμα*, the reading of Aldus, which we greatly prefer to that of the other edd. *πημάτων*, or the *κτημάτων* of Robortelli. *Ἄνομένων βημάτων* is the *advancing steps*. Whatever the scholar may think of our conjecture, he must at least allow that there is a manifest corruption; that *πρὸς ἡδονήν* is indefensible, unless coupled with *παραγγέλλασα*, from which it is too far separated, and that a verb is wanting. *Πανόν*, which is replaced in the text by Casaubon from Athenæus, is ingeniously read by Jacobs in Eur. Ion. 195. for *πιανόν*: *Πανόν πυρίφλεκτον αἶρει*. As to *Μακίστου*, the line following, *Ὅδ' οὔτι μέλλων, &c.* proves it to be a proper name against the authority of the

\* Dr. Butler also proposed some alteration.

Scholiast and Wakefield, though Æsch. Orith. ap. Longinum has μάκιστον σέλας.

286. γράλας. Dr. Blomfield properly observes that we may either take Γράλας as a proper name, (as Porson in the Adversaria has done,) or as an epithet of ἐρείκη, which he translates 'heath,' as it is here and in the passages he has cited. Yet the ἐρείκη of Plutarch in the Isis and Osiris must have been more luxuriant, or a different plant from our heath.

336. θεοῖς δ' ἀναπλάκητος. In this line we rather differ from Dr. Blomfield in his reading and interpretation. We do not see why ἀπλάκητος is to be considered as *vox nihili*, or, against the authority of MSS. to be ejected from Trachiniæ 123, where it appears from Hesychius to have been an old reading, and ἀναπλάκητος substituted for it, contrary to the metre and sense. We may have our suspicions of ἀπλάκητος in that passage, but we certainly should not cut the Gordian knot in so summary a manner by reading ἀναπλάκητος. Besides we do not at all conceive that ἀναπλάκητος means *nullis erroribus actus*: ἀναπλάκητος means ὁ ἀναμάρτητος according to the Scholiast, and we contend that ἀπλάκητος means ὁ ἀμαρτῶν; In the same sense ἀπλάκται, ἀπλάκημα, ἀπλακῶν are used in Pindar, Hesychus, Ibycus, Æschylus and Sophocles; nor, according to our theory, are these words, ἀπλακῶν or ἥπλακες, used in the sense of *missing*, or *losing*, except when construed in regimen, as οἷας δάμαριος ἥπλακες, and other instances of the same kind. But let us endeavour to elucidate the matter by inquiring into the meaning of the text. Clytemnestra says, 'If the army come back in a state of heavenly reprobation for their crimes, the gods will visit on their heads all the blood which they have shed.' She has been expressing in her whole speech her fears that they would be guilty of impiety and sacrilege. But Dr. Blomfield's reading would amount to this: 'If the army return safe, the gods will,' &c. But their punishment was not surely to be the consequence of their safe return, but of their crimes; *ei* therefore cannot be *conditional* in this place; and if it were used as *although*, the meaning would still be awkward, and such usage of *ei* might be questioned without καὶ: as it occurs Eur. Or. 289. Phœn. 1464. Med. 393. with the indicative mood; also καὶ with an optative, and καὶ with a subjunctive. Hoogeven de Particulis: hic usus (*ei*) pro *quamvis* non simplici *ei* est attribuendus, nisi post negativum. Arist. Vesp. 297. Οὐκ ἂν μὰ τὸν Δ' *ei* κρίμοισθι γ' ὑμεῖς. We may add that when *ei* is used with an optative in one member of a sentence, and another optative with ἂν succeeds, the former part of the sentence is the *condition* of which the latter is the *consequence*; and it is much more natural to describe the gods punishing the Greeks for their *sins* than for their *safe return*.

357. ὅπως



357. *ὅπως ἂν σκήψειν*. The passage, CEd. Col. 425, (the fine outbreak of *Œdipus's* passion) would be rendered an absolute solecism by reading ὦν or ᾧδ' for ὡς, as Dr. Blomfield proposes. A prayer would *thus* be expressed by the optative mood with ἂν. That line therefore must stand as a defence of this in the text, where ὅπως ἂν is construed with an optative. The learned editor also adduces from Herodotus *ὅπως ἂν μὴ λυπεῖσθαι*, but doubts whether it can be brought as authority for the line under consideration. Without having recourse to so distant a country as Ionia, one might have been found nearer to Attica, viz. in Bæotia, Pind. Olymp. vii. 75, 'Ὡς ἂν θέα πρῶτοι κλίσαιεν βαμὸν ἐναργέα; or, still more to the point, in Athens itself, and in the theatre, Soph. Aj. 1221, τὰς ἱερὰς ὅπως Προσείποιμ' ἂν Ἀθήνας, as Brunck has properly substituted for the common reading; the chorus, as usual throughout, speaking of themselves in the singular number. Also Eur. Iph. Au. 171, Ἀχαιῶν στρατιὰν ὡς κατίδοιμ' ἂν. We might add many passages from Apollonius Rhodius; also Neopt. apud Stob. cxix. Ω θάνατ', εἴθ' εἴης αὐτάγχετος, ὅρρ' ἂν ἐλοίμην: but we think the text sufficiently defended.

Dr. Blomfield very justly remarks that ὅπως ἂν here may also be rendered *quo maxime modo*; so ὅπη-is used Eur. Hel. 146, ὅπη ἂν στείλαμι:—Eur. Cyclops, 468, ὅπως ἂν κάγω λαβοίμην τοῦ τυφλοῦντος ὄμματα: Arist. Equit. 81, ὅπως ἂν ἀποθάνοιμεν ἀνδρικότατα, which is the reading of the first Junta for the vicious reading of Aldus and other editions ἀποθάνωμεν. So ἵνα ἂν, Soph. CEd. Col. 405, μηδ' ἴν' ἂν σαυτοῦ κρατοῖς; as Brunck has edited it for the faulty reading of all the editions κρατῆς.

365. 371. *πέφανται δ' ἐκγόνους*. We think that Dr. Blomfield has acted most judiciously in editing the text as it now stands; there is a nervous brevity and obscurity in the passage, but we are far from considering it as manifestly corrupt. The poet is refuting the doctrines of the atheist in general, or, as Dr. Blomfield ingeniously observes, of Diagoras the Melian, in particular. He refutes it by the example of the punishment of Troy. 'The atheist,' he says, 'denies the existence or providence of the gods, yet they have manifested themselves to the children of the audacious ones, who breathed forth slaughter, and whose palaces abounded above measure, beyond (so as to disregard) τὸ βέλτιστον, or above the proper measure.' This we understand of the family of Priam; but by the proposed alteration the sense would run thus: 'The atheist denies the existence or providence of the gods; the atheist is the child of those who breathe, &c. But why should the parents of the atheist be sanguinary warriors, or reside in splendid palaces? Besides, by this means we make the Chorus lose sight of their immediate subject, viz. the punishment and destruction of a great and powerful

powerful city, and fly off to give what we consider an unhappy and inappropriate description of an atheist. However, one objection to our mode of construction, which Dr. Blomfield has very properly noticed, arises from *πέφανται* being always of the singular number. See Eustathius, B. 189, who cites *λιμὴν πέφανται*, *ἔπος πέφανται*, as well as *χαῖε ἐξήρανται*, and *κατέξανται δέμας*. It should be stated, however, on the other side, that the usage of *πέφανται* as a plural is strongly defended by the passage in Hippol. 1255. *πέκρανται συμφοραί*, a reading which has the sanction of the very learned Professor Monk, who has retained it in his excellent edition, though the Cod. Flor. reads *κρέμανται*. We agree with Dr. Butler as to the word *ἔστω*: it is not unusual for poets to express a wish as a command; Æsch. Suppl. 678, *ἦβας δ' ἄνθος ἀδρέπλον ἔστω* is one of the many vows and prayers of the chorus.

585. Dr. Blomfield very properly defends the ellipsis of the particle *ἢ* against Bigot, Stanley and Schaëfer. Might he not, as well as the passage in *Alcestis*, have cited Æsch. Prom. 629, *Μή μου προκήδου μᾶσσον, ὡς ἐμοὶ γλυκύ?* We only wish he had left the comma after *ἦδιον*, and coupled *δρακεῖν* with *ἄνδρα*. An Attic would say *τί φέγγος ἦδιον*, or *τί φέγγος ἦδιον δρακεῖν* indiscriminately, as he would say *δύσβατος* or *δύσβατος περὶν*. Though we approve of *τε*, proposed by Pauw and edited by Porson, yet, in the incoherence of Clytæmnestra's agitated speech, we can easily spare it.

595. *χαλκοῦ βαφάς*. We adopt the reading *χαλκός* (which was also the conjecture of Abreschius) from the author of the tragedy of *Χρυστὸς Πάσχων*, understanding *βαφάς* to be *dyeing*, a process never applied to metal. Hence the expression seems used almost proverbially to express the improbability, or impossibility of an event. 'I have nothing more to do with it than a dyer has to do with copper.'

598. 9. *αὕτη μὲν οὕτως*. The right, or at least a very good reading, is here happily replaced from the Scholiast.

657. *Μενέλεων δ' ἄρ' οὖν*. So Dr. Blomfield has edited it, from a conjecture of Stanley's. The reading of the Glasgow edition is *γὰρ*. We recollect no passage where these particles *δ' ἄρ' οὖν* come together, and we prefer therefore the usual combination of *γὰρ* or *μὲν ἔν*. In Æsch. Cho. 223, Schutz after Canter has well edited *Αὐτὸν μὲν ἔν ὁρῶσα δυσμαθείς ἐμὲ for the faulty αὐτὸν μὲν νῦν of Al-  
dus and the Glasgow edition.*

660. *καὶ ζῶντα καὶ*. Toup, Emend. iii. p. 557, proposes to read *χλωρόν τε καὶ βλέποντα*, but we agree with Dr. Blomfield in considering this change as unnecessary, and almost absurd. Schaëfer on Long. Past. p. 28. l. 5. has also declared war on this word in Soph. Trachin. 234. *Καὶ ζῶντα καὶ βάλλοντα κοῦ νόσω βαρύν*, where he reads *καὶ σῶν τε*, invita Minerva. Nothing in fact can

be

be worse than this insertion of the particle *τι*; and why should we quarrel with the former lection, when *ζῶντα* and *σῶν* are tantamount in meaning?

664. *Τίς πότ' ὠνόμαζεν.* The metre in the first strophe of this chorus is a mixture of trochaics, antispastics, anacreontics and dactyls, (according to the Glasgow edition); nor do we think that the disposition of them has been here changed for the better. We particularly object to the line 669,

*Τὰν δορίγαμβρον ἀμφιτυκῆ θ',*

as an awkward choriambic dim. with an hypercatalectic syllable at the end; besides (our old ditty) the *pause* of the verse should be at the word *Ἐλείαν*. It would be better to have made one line

*Τὰν δορίγαμβρον ἀμφιτυκῆ θ' Ἐλείαν;*

but we are satisfied with the Glasgow edition. The arrangement of the remainder of the strophe is altered for the worse; the lines are more numerous as *short* than as long verses, and more adapted to the sense, which expresses quickness of motion and rapidity in change of scene.

686. *τίοντας.* 'Edd. veteres; unde sensus idoneus elici non potest,' says our editor; and he therefore adopts the conjecture of Schutz, *τίοντος*. But surely the sense is better in the old reading, viz. 'Exacting vengeance from the celebrators of the marriage of Helen and Paris.' We cannot conceive the difficulty: *πρασσομένα* has the double accusative after it, as it very commonly has: see *Hec. Pors.* 800. Fischer on Weller's Grammar properly cites *l.* 785 of this play, *δικαίαν θ' ὣν ἐπραξάμεν πόλιν*, as an instance of a double accusative, amongst many others. *Pind. Olymp. x.* 34. *Ὡς Ἀργίαν λάτριν μισθὸν ὑπέρβιον πρᾶσσοιτο.*

716. *παρ' αὐτὰ δ' ἔλθειν.* So Dr. Blomfield and the Med. MS. The Edd. *πάραντα δ' ἔν.* We do not see why *ἐν* is to be omitted here, and still less in the line 448, *καλαιναὶ δ' ἔν Ἐρινύες*. The particle *ἐν* coupled in this way with *δὲ*, *μὲν*, or *ἐπὶ* is very common, and has peculiar force and elegance. The words indeed might construe without it; but how (for example) could it be spared in the line

*Ζῆς δ' ἐπὶ ἔν Τρωάς τι καὶ ἔκτορα θυοὶ πύλασσι;*

or in this,

*Καὶ πρὶς μὲν ἔν ἱονχίῳ*

*δαίματος ἔν μοι προβάλα.*—*Soph. Aj.* 1210.

though dropped in the Harleian MS. collated by Porson?

742. *νεαρά.* This corrupt and mutilated line is not improved by the various conjectures of the learned. The words make sense, but *δε* or some connective particle is wanted, and the numbers are also deficient. We take *Κρότον*, (or whatever may be lost in it,) and

Θράσος, and Ἄρας to be all personifications, all children of Ὑδρίς, and are therefore decidedly against the ejection of τ, and the changing τὸν into τάν. Δαίμων is generally of the masculine gender.

837. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἤκειν. We do not agree with Dr. Blomfield in his interpretation of this passage. He would understand the word (Ἀγαμέμνονα) before ἤκειν and ἐπεισφέρειν; by which the two unfortunate messengers, τὸν μὲν and τὸν δέ, would be violently separated from the verbs to which they belong, ἤκειν and ἐπεισφέρειν. What can be more plain? one arrives, another follows him bringing a worse tale: λάσκοντας applies to both. We need not add, that the poet describes Agamemnon returning so soon after the fall of Troy, (till which event he never obtained possession of Cassandra,) that no report about her could possibly have reached Clytemnestra; yet this is the meaning sought by this forced construction.

845. χθονὸς τρίμοιρον. The punctuation and interpretation of this passage are very ingenious, though we are not altogether inclined to adopt them implicitly. Λαβεῖν χλαῖναν χθονὸς (absolutely) might have meant sepulture; but we hardly think Λαβεῖν χλαῖναν τρίμοιρον χθονὸς could. We understand these words to mean the three-fated body, or cloak of flesh.

903. Εἰ πάντα δ' ὥς πρᾶσσοιμ'. 'Ubi particulam ἄν (for πρᾶσσοιμ' ἄν is the reading of the Edd.) cum ei sic positam contra linguæ rationem peccare, nemo observavit.' So Dr. Blomfield. Yet εἰ with κε and an optative occurs in Homer and Pindar. Hom. i. Εἰ κεν θάνατόν γε φύγοιμεν. Pind. Pyth. iv. 470. Εἰ γάρ τις δῖους δευτέρῳ πελίζει Ἐξερείψαι κεν μεγάλας δρυός. We might cite many similar instances from Apollonius Rhodius. In Eur. Alc. 703, Εἰ τὴν παῖσσαν κατθανεῖν πείσειας ἄν, Dr. Blomfield, we suppose, will embrace the reading of the Flor. MS. πείσεις ἄν, and indeed we think it more elegant than the common lection. Again, Alc. 49. οὐ γὰρ οἶδ' ἄν εἰ πείσαιμί σε, if it stand, will be another instance; but we have on other accounts some doubts as to the sanity of the line, though the editors have in general past it over sicco pede. So ὅτι is generally used with the optative without ἄν, but sometimes with it. Xen. Cyr. vi. c. 20. ὅτι ἐγὼ σοι ἐν καιρῷ ἄν γενομένην χρήσιμος. So ὅτε also occurs with an optative, and ἄν in Æsch. Pers. 450. ὅταν νῶν Φθαρῖνες ἐχθροὶ νῆσον ἐκωλόλατο (which the editor in vain attempts to change). Indeed this construction is mentioned by an old grammarian in Bekker's Anecdota, 144. We conceive ἄν used with εἰ and the optative mood to give a future sense, which εἰ with the optative singly would not have.

Thus far in defence of the old text: we come now to Dr. Blomfield's reading. Εἰ πάντα δ' ὥς πρᾶσσοιμ' ἀνευ θάρσους ἐγώ, which he interprets, 'Utinam sic omnia faciam modeste et sine audacia.' Without stopping to notice the rhythm of the line, εἰ is seldom, if ever,

ever, used for 'utinam' by the tragic writers, unless with γὰρ or μοι following; though Vigerus on Hoogeveen cites Æsch. S. C. Theb. 260, to the contrary: πράσσειν καλῶς, εὖ, κακῶς, αἶδ', αἶς are used to signify *being in good or bad fortune, or in such fortune*; not for acting well or ill, or in such a manner as the expression is here used by our author. Besides, the sense in the old text is preferable, at least in our judgment, to that in the line before us. Agamemnon's whole speech is expressive of piety, humility, and that sense of the mutability of human affairs which prevents his feeling too much elated with his present glory. He says, (in the sentiment of Solon,) we must wait to the end of life before we can be assured of the happiness of our fate; and ends with the line in question, which may be rendered thus as to sense:

Let me speed thus hereafter in all things  
As well as now I've done, my soul will be  
Full of a happy confidence serene.

What Potter meant by his version,

'These sober joys be mine, I ask no more,'

we cannot even guess. Dr. Blomfield's reading would run thus: 'May I hereafter be always as humble and modest as I now am!' This praise of his own modesty is in itself a piece of conceit, and seems to argue that he then felt the emotions of a pride, which he was apprehensive he should not afterwards be able to control. To us, indeed, it appears foreign to the sense of the context and the character of the speaker.

955. 6. 7. χρόνος δ' ἐπελ. We are surprized at the difficulties and unhappy conjectures made on this passage. Πάρθησε Pauw; Παρήψεν, Heath, Schutz, Butler. Dr. Blomfield suggests χρόνος δ' ἐπελ—πρυμνησίαν ξυνεμβολαί—ψαμμίαις ἀκλαῖς παρή—θησαν, totally changing the sense of the passage, as Heath, Schutz and Butler seem to have understood it, viz. 'It is a long time since the army anchored here *on their way to Troy*,' εὐθ' ὑπ' Ἴλιον ἄρτο, which Stanley should have translated *proficisceretur*, not *profectus est*; for the words mean not that they had reached Ilion, but that they were preparing against it. If that be the case, what becomes of παρήθησεν and putruerunt? How could the ropes and cables be described as rotted at the first gathering of the fleet at Argos? It is applied by Homer to the fleet after nine years service. Χρόνος ἐπελ is χρόνος ἀφ' οὗ. We propose to read παρέθησαν for παρήθησεν: Hom. II. A. *sub finem* κατὰ δὲ πρυμνήσι' ἔθησαν. Ψαμμίας ἀκάτους are the ships *drawn up on the strand*, according to the known practice of those days.

990. οὐδὲ τὸν ὀρθοδαῖ. We think the passage much more forcible without αὖ, and put interrogatively. Dr. Blomfield has very

ingeniously extracted ἀβλαβεία from the Scholiast; we wish however he had included it 'uncinis.'

1048. Ἀγυιῦ τ'. Ἀγυιᾶτ', the reading restored by our editor, is confirmed by Pindar Pyth. xi. Σεμέλα Μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀγυιᾶτις.

1057. ᾤ, ᾤ. 'Hanc interjectionem restitui ex Ald. Rob. Turn. Med. εὖ εὖ Guelph. vitiose pro ᾤ ᾤ. Unius Stephani auctoritate non erat ejiciendum, præsertim cum per totam scenam Cassandrae vaticinia ab hujusmodi exclamationibus incipiant.' We cite this with pleasure as a very judicious piece of criticism, in which we entirely coincide with the learned editor.

1065. κλαίόμενα τὰ βρέφη σφαγὰς. So Dr. Blomfield for τᾶδε, the reading of all the editions and manuscripts except the Venet. We prefer supplying the defective syllable in the strophe with τε, or reading αὐτοφόνων, or leaving it as it is, to the introduction of the article τὰ for τᾶδε, (δεικτικῶς,) pointing at the children whose phantoms she sees. By the omission of τᾶδε a great poetic and dramatic beauty is lost; and by *all means* a comma should be put after βρέφη, and σφαγὰς, (which is also very important for the beauty, and indeed right understanding, of the passage,) as it is in Canter and in the Glasgow edition, and a fuller stop after ἐπιτείβομαι.

1105. ἰὼ ἰὼ. So all the Edd. We decidedly prefer it to the single ἰὼ of the text; as we do in the antistrophe, ἰὼ ἰὼ λιγείας ἀήδονος μῶρον, to the transposition of Hermann and Schutz, λιγείας μῶρον ἀήδονος. The lines answer perfectly well as they stood—an antispastus, a dochmiac and an antispastus.

Ἴω ἰὼ|τάλαινας κᾶκῳ|πόμῳι ἰὺχαῖ|

Ἴω ἰὼ|λιγείας ἀή|δονος μῶρον.

No one, we suppose, will object to the *indifference* of the last syllable of the dochmiac.

1133. νεογνός. Dr. Blomfield's reason for ejecting ἀνθρώπων is very ingenious. We cannot agree however with him in transposing ὑπαὶ πέπληγμαι for πέπληγμαι δ' ὑπαὶ: his motive appears to us inadequate, as the iambic syzygy will answer perfectly well to the pure antispastus. Our objection to his reading is, that the particle δὲ is evidently wanted as a connective, and that in tmesis the preposition is usually separated from the verb by some word or words, as ὑπαὶ δὲ ἰδεσκα; or by transposition, as Eur. Bacch. 554, Μόλε χρυσῶπα λινάσσαν—Ἄνα θύρσον καὶ ὄλυμπον. In Arist. Vesp. 328, Porson elegantly reads διὰ λινθάλειω σπῆδισον λαχέως. per tmesin, for the old reading διαλιν θαλέω. Should it be contended that here is no tmesis, it should then be ὑπὸ, not ὑπαὶ.

1187. ἐφημίοις. †ἐφημίοις Porson; εὐφημίοις Schutz: but it is not proved that the Attics used εὐφημίοις as well as εὐφημος. The learned editor has in a manner attempted to cut the Gordian knot by

by reading *φημοις*, but we have no authority for considering this word as Greek. We should think that, as a mere conjecture, *ειθυμοις* would be a happier word. The *φ* and *θ* might easily change places, and we have the authority of Hesychius, Suidas, Sophocles and Thucydides for the word as well as for a sense belonging to it which would suit this passage. Hesych. 'Ενθόμιος: σεμνός, άπορός. Suidas has the same words. Steph. Lexicón: 'religione obstringens animum.'

1212. *άγαν αληθόμανιν*. We have our doubts about the omission of *γε* here. In Hippol. 264, it is rightly omitted; in *Andromache*, 955, Brunck, following the Florentine edition, has expunged this particle, though in the latter passage it is not destitute of force. Dr. Blomfield has rightly edited 1225, *άγαν γ' Έλλην' επίστασαι φάτιν*.

1223. *Ἡ κάρτα*. The sense is better without the note of interrogation at the end of this line. Besides, the strong affirmative *ἦ κάρτα* belongs to an *affirmer*, and not to a *questioner*. We believe such to be its constant usage: above, in this play, *Ἡ κάρτα πρὸς γυναικὸς αἰρεσθαί κίεα*. Eumen. 210. *Ἡ κάρτ' αἵματα καὶ πάρ' οὐδὲν ἡδέσω*.

1295. *πρὸς ὕστατον φῶς*. Though there is a difficulty and something of a confusion in the construction of this passage, we by no means think it necessarily faulty. It might be the intention of the poet by broken sentences to describe the agitation of Cassandra in her last speech, in the hurry of the moments she knew to be her last, in the tumult of human passion, and the fury of prophetic exaltation. But whether the passage be corrupt or not, our author's emendation is objectionable for using *τίθειν τοια* in the sense of 'exacting such punishment.' *Τίθειν δίκην, τιμωρίαν*, &c. are used by the Greeks as 'luere pœnas.' The middle voice expresses the Latin 'exigere pœnas.' *Τίθειν ἴην βλάβην*. Plato de Legibus. *Δίκην τίνουσα τῆς ἐν Αὐλίδι σφαγῆς*. Eur. Iph. T. 339. *Τίσασθε πατρὸς φόνον ἡμετέρου*. Soph. Elec. 116. In this play, 1311, *Αἰμ' ἀπολίσει*; and again 1539, *ἐκλίνει δ' ὁ καίνων*. Yet in 1480 we admit that *ἀπέλισεν* is used differently, though we hardly think it can be brought to defend *ἵδια ἵλιν* in this place. In *Æsch. Choeph.* 647, *Τίτει μύσος—χρόνω κλυτῇ βυσσόφρων Ἐρινύς*, Schutz has very properly restored *τίτει*, the reading of Aldus and Robortelli, citing the Scholiast and Eur. Supp. 672. *Σώζοντες, οὐδὲν δεόμενοι ἵσται φόνον*. We may here remark that Aldus frequently preserves the true reading slightly vitiated, when subsequent editors have totally corrupted it.

1345. 6. 7. *πῶς γάρ; ἢς ἐχθροῖς*. We are not much pleased with this alteration of the text. Οὐ at the close of a senarian, unless when accented and closing a sentence, is of very rare occurrence. It



occurs once in this very play. Neither are we quite satisfied with the omission of *ἀν*. The Greeks would say *ἢς οὐκ ἀν φράξουσιν*, not *ἢς οὐ φράξουσιν*. The rule of Dawes's Misc. Crit. 207, seems to apply here. 'Verbum utique optativum cum *πῶι*, *πῶθεν*, *πῶ*, *πῶς* (we may add *ἢς*) vel quâlibet aliâ interrogandi particulâ conjunctum, alteram itidem *ἀν* comitem exigit.' Cœd. Col. 1440. *Τῆς ἀν οὐ κα-  
ταστάνοις*; Cœd. T. 339. *Τῆς γὰρ λοιπῶν ἀν ἐκ ἀν ὀργίζουσι* ἔπη; Æsch. Agamem. 1312. *Τῆς ἀν οὐκ εὐξάλο βροτῶν*; It is useless to proceed with examples; but *ἀν* appears to us indispensable: we therefore embrace Mr. Elmsley's reading, *ἀρχύσαι ἀν*.

1350. *Ἔσθηκα δ' ἐνθ'.* 'Ἔπειτα' ἐπ', edd. veteres; *ἔπειτα* Porson; *ἔπαις*, Schutz conj. ex libro Scaligeri, et sic MS. Venet. and so Dr. Blomfield, optimè. Twice in the Anabasis, *ἔπεισαν* and *ἔπαισαν*, have changed places. Lib. ii. c. 3. ed. Zeun, the Juntin. edition and Bodleian MS. read *ἔπεισαν* for *ἔπαισαν*. There is no need of moving this verse from its present place and putting it after the line 1358. We think it very material that this beautiful passage should be correctly understood. It was evidently misconceived by Potter, who translates it—

'Often have I stood

To assay the execution where he fell.'

as if *ἔσθηκα* had been *ἔσθην*. Clytæmnestra advances on the stage, firm in resolution, yet full of the horror of the deed which she had just been committing; partly soliloquizing, partly addressing the Chorus. The line in question is a soliloquy, broken, interrupted, with long intervening pauses, and should not be printed as if it were in the plain continuity of narrative—*Ἔσθηκα δ' ἐνθ' ἔπαις*—*ἐπ' ἐξαιρεγασμένοις*.—The following translation, though totally inadequate to the full beauty of the passage, will explain its true meaning and purport.

'— My hands have struck the blow!—

'Tis like the deeds that have been done of yore!—

Past!—and my feet are now upon the spot!'

1423. *Φεῦ τίς ἀν ἐν τάχῃ.* We come now to a series of choral measures, where the antistrophical advocates, with Hermaun at their head, are in full glory, though we must do the learned editor the justice to say that he seems a little staggered at the confidence of his leader. 'Certe nequeo non mirari virum doctissimum, qui hoc suo stropharum ordine et positu cognito, niendas, lacunas, interpretamenta, quæ alioqui certò deprehendere difficillimum foret, jam extra dubitationem poni apparere affirmet.'

We must, however, with regard to this supposed lacuna, confess ourselves to be of the new academy, disciples of Carneades and Pyrrho. To favour their system, the advocates on the other side have imagined a lacuna of no less than eight lines in the space of twenty-

twenty-five, when the sense is perfect without them, and when the speech of Clytemnestra which immediately follows the supposed lacuna is a direct answer to the speech of the chorus which precedes it. So that either these eight intervening lines, no vestige of which appears in her answer, were unanswered, or during their whole continuance the chorus harped upon the same thought which they had expressed in antistr. A. Yet on the other side, it may be alleged, that regularity in an antistrophical system, which was perhaps indispensable in the musical parts of the drama, and the beauty and harmony arising from it, are more than sufficient to overthrow so slight an objection as that which we have made.

1437. ἐρίδματος. Dr. Blomfield's Gl. interprets this word, 'valde noxia' a δμάω: we render it 'valde ædificata,' as θεόδματος, εὐδμηλος: a strong metaphor, it may be said, but not stronger than νεκίων λίκονα or ἄτας θοιγκώσων in this play, or καλλίπυργον Σοφίαν, Arist. Nub. 1024. Fletcher, in the Spanish Curate, has 'architect of strife.'

1456. τὸ παλαιὸν ἄχος, νέος ἵχωρ. The Homeric usage of this word in the beautiful description of the wound of Venus, is well known, with the observations of Eustathius and Porphyry on the passage, as well as the humorous application of the line by Alexander the Great. By the old poet it is used in its proper sense (κυριολεκτικῶς) which is given by Dr. Blomfield in the Gl. Eur. Ion. 1016 uses it for liquor, generally applying it to a medicament or poison,

Ἐἰς ἣν δὲ κραθὲν αὐτὸν ἵχωρ' εἰσφορεῖ'

so Barnes; Musgravius probat: but Aldus supplies a better reading κραθὲν λάυλον, and the whole line should be read

Ἐἰς ἣν δὲ κραθὲν ταῦτ' ἵχωρας φέρις.'

1490. πᾶχνα κουροβόρη. So the editor. We incline to Πάχναν, the reading of Casaubon and Pauw, which will at any rate make sense according to Schutz's explanation 'Frigus incutiet (Atreo) nativoro.' Πάχνα is metaphorical here, as Παχνουμένη Choeph. 80. Παχυνῆται Hom. Il. p. 112, and Hesiod. Ἔργ. κ. Ἡμερ. 357. An extract from Eustathius on the passage in Homer will, we think, materially contribute to elucidate the line in the text.

Τὸ δὲ παχυνῆται ἦτορ, κίῃται μὲν καὶ παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ, ἐν τῷ ἐπάχνησι φίλοι ἦτορ, δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ πακυνῆται, καὶ οἷον πηγνυται τῇ λύπῃ, ἐπὶ καὶ ἡ πᾶχνη, δρόσος ἐστὶ πεπικνωμένη καὶ πεπηγμένη ἢ καὶ ἄλλως παχυνῆται ἀντὶ τῷ ψύχεται. Εἰώθεσι δὲ οἱ παλαιοὶ, ψυχρὰ λέγειν τὰ ἀέθρα.

The old disposition of the lines

ὅποι δὲ καὶ προβαίνων  
πᾶχνα κουροβόρη παρίξαι.

strikes us as rather more numerous than that of Dr. Blomfield. But, on the whole, we greatly approve of his strophical and anti-strophical

strophical arrangement of this entire choral passage; and are most ready to admit the minor lacunas, (which he has pointed out by asterisks,) and the repetition of antistrophe  $\iota$  and  $\kappa'$ .

1301. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐλός. Schutz has very happily put a note of interrogation after *θηκε*, which renders the passage more spirited, and points Clytemnestra's answer directly to the crimination of the chorus; *δολὸν μὲν δαμείς*. She replies, 'Did not he also deal treacherously with us?' Without the interrogation, the line would not contain a charge of treachery against Agamemnon: which treachery was the manner in which he obtained Iphigenia for the purpose of sacrificing her.

1543. *κεκόλληται*.—*πρὸς ἄτα* for *προσάψαι* is a very ingenious emendation of the learned editor, una tantum lineola abjecta ΠΟΡCΑΤΑΙ for ΠΟΡCΑ+ΑΙ, as in Eur. Med. 553, in one of the MSS. *ἐνψυχέστερον* is written for *ἐντυχέστερον*, the error arising from the likeness of the letters T and Ψ, written thus in many MSS. T and +.

1631. *κριθῶνία*. 'κριθῶνία Schutz. quæ forma tum analogiæ, tum metri leges violat;' so Dr. Blomfield. The metre certainly requires *κριθῶνία*; but the other form occurs, apud Stob. vi. 'Ἐκκριθῶνιος ἀνδρὸς ἐν ἀφροδισίοις. Why might not the Attics use *κριθῶ* and *κριθῖα* as they used *φυσῶ* and *φυσῖα*. In the Prom. 718, *ἐκφυσᾷ μενοι*; in this play, 1360, *Κακφυσῶν ὄξειαν*. α. σ.

1647. Στείχῃτ', οἱ γέροντες ἥδη πρὸς δόμους πετρωμένους,  
Πρὶν παθεῖν. ἔρξαντα καὶρὸν χρεὶν τὰδ' ὡς ἱπράξαμεν.

so the Edd.; *ἐρέξαντας αἰνεῖν* Heath, Butler; *πρὶν παθεῖν ἔρξαντ' ἀκαιρα* Hermann; *ἔρξαντας αἰρεῖν*, Dr. Blomfield. All these emendations are ingenious: we rather incline to the *ἐρέξαντας* of Heath, and the *αἰρεῖν* of the learned editor, putting the stop after *πρὶν παθεῖν*. But it appears to us strange that none have discovered any difficulty in *πετρωμένους*. We were in hopes that the Glossary would have assisted us by producing some rare and recondite usage of the word of which we were not aware; but we have searched it in vain, and are perfectly at a loss to comprehend the meaning of *πρὸς δόμους πετρωμένους*. If we might be allowed *modeste conjecture*, we would read the whole passage thus:

Στείχῃτ' οἱ γέροντες ἥδη πρὸς δόμους, πετρωμένους  
Πρὶν παθεῖν· ἐρέξαντας αἰρεῖν χρεὶν τὰδ' ὡς ἱπράξαμεν.

We have only altered the unintelligible word *πετρωμένους* into *πετρωμένους* (vulneratos) and adopted *ἐρέξαντας* from Heath, and *αἰρεῖν* from Dr. Blomfield.

We here take our leave of the judicious and learned editor,—not without an earnest hope that his valuable labours will be continued, and that we shall one day possess a complete edition of *Æschylus*

chylus from his hand. We are afraid we have tired the general reader by the minuteness of our philological remarks; but we could not, consistently with our duty, pass a work of this kind, from one of the most erudite of our countrymen, unnoticed, and in noticing it we could not but be minute, as minuteness is of the very essence of such disquisitions. Classical learning, though not now, as a few centuries ago, usurping more perhaps than its due share of attention, is yet one of the most splendid and beautiful provinces of literature, and the cultivation of it is highly creditable to any age or any country. Here we must profess ourselves inimical to that wretched taste which affects to ridicule what it does not understand. Aristophanes, indeed, might smile at Socrates, and Molière at Descartes; and we can smile with them, and enjoy the laugh raised by uncontrollable wit and fancy. We can even be heartily amused with the apparition of 'Aristarchus,' in the Dunciad, and yet return to read him in the Phalaris with unabated admiration. Wit and raillery sit lightly and gracefully upon poets and geniuses such as these; but when attempted by the clumsier hands of those, who, while they disregard the solidity of fact, are destitute of the brilliancy of fiction, we turn from the vapid and splenetic buffoonery with equal contempt and disgust. Recurring to our subject,—we ought to be the last lettered nation in the world to discountenance this species of literature,—we, who have so eminently distinguished ourselves in it in the persons of the *two* most renowned scholars of Europe.

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ART. XI.—*Italy*. By Lady Morgan. 2 vols. 4to. pp. 841.  
London. 1821.

IT may be expected that we should say something of this book, —we shall take the liberty of explaining why we shall say very little.

When *criticism* partakes of the nature of punishment, (as criticism on such a work as this would do,) it should be limited, as other punishments ought to be, to one of three objects—the reformation of the offender—the deterring others from offending—or, the correction of mischief caused by the offence. Now although Lady Morgan's 'Italy' is a series of offences against good morals, good politics, good sense, and good taste, we do not think that her arraignment would conduce to any of the three objects to which we have just limited the propriety of a penal visitation.

In the first place, we are convinced that this woman is utterly *incorrigible*; secondly, we hope that her indelicacy, ignorance, vanity, and malignity, are *inimitable*, and that, therefore, her example is very little dangerous,—and thirdly, though every page teems with

with errors of all kinds, from the most disgusting down to the most ludicrous, they are smothered in such Bæotian dulness, that they can do no harm. Extracts could afford no idea of the general and homogeneous stupidity which pervades the work; and if our review should happen to give any interest to the subject, we should be liable to the double charge of deceiving our friends and puffing Lady Morgan. We therefore decline 'drawing her frailties from their dread abode.' Buried in the lead of her ponderous quartos, the corruption is inoffensive—any examination would only serve to let the effluvia escape, and in some degree endanger the public health.

We, indeed, have been obliged to labour through these tomes, because our duty imposes that task upon us: but we have not heard of any voluntary reader who has been able to contend against the narcotic influence of her prating, prosing, and plagiarism, and get through even the first volume.—This, however, is not the only criterion we can adduce that the work, notwithstanding the obstetric skill of Sir Charles Morgan, (who, we believe, is a manmidwife,) 'dropt all but still-born from the press:'—we have another, less liable to the suspicion of partiality than any opinion of our's; we mean the advertisements of her own publishers: and worthless as the occasion is, we think that the exposure of the system of puffing in a case so flagrant as this, may not be unamusing, or unimportant to the real dignity of criticism.

Our readers—who are also, we presume, readers of newspapers—must remember that it is at least a year since 'Lady Morgan's Italy' was formally advertised—we even suspect that the intended publication of the *Travels* was announced before the journey itself was begun—and that *the price of the embryo MS. paid the expenses of the travellers*:—And here we must be permitted to say a word on a practice which (although, we fear, not altogether unexampled, and perhaps not degrading to such persons as Lady Morgan and her husband) we must seriously reprobate as injurious to the interests of literature and of society. *Travellers in this line*, like commercial Bagmen, have no object but to sell their wares to the best bidder; and thus, instead of genuine feelings, original views, and all the results of that noble curiosity and that classical enthusiasm, for which English travellers were pre-eminently renowned—we find, when the bale comes to be opened, a miserable assortment of damaged and second-hand articles—extracts from catalogues, road-books, and local histories, enlivened by observations gleaned from milliners, laquais de place, vetturinos and cicerones, and thrown together with no object but to fill the prescribed number of sheets, and to earn the stipulated number

number of pounds. If such travellers get into a higher rank of society, it is by playing on the vanity or the weakness which may desire their applause or dread their slander:—by the terror of the forthcoming volume, they levy *contributions*, which pass under the name of *hospitality*; and they revel at Paris, Petersburg, or Parma, at feasts, which, like the banquets offered of old to the Pagan demons, are the tribute of imbecility to impudence and imposture.

But to return to the advertisements.—After many false alarms and divers appearances of light troops and tirailleurs, wearing in their caps the laurels of the anticipated victory of Lady Morgan, we thought we perceived, at last, the real advance of her columns in the dignified and emphatic advertisement of the 17th January last—

‘Preparing for the press,  
ITALY, BY LADY MORGAN.’

This notice may have appeared yet earlier, but we have thought it sufficient to trace it back to the beginning of the year—and here let us, in justice, venture one episodical remark arising out of the search which we made in the file of the *Morning Chronicle*. As, after a sea-voyage, all meat is savoury, so after six weeks stupifying over Lady Morgan, we found or fancied the *Morning Chronicle* strict in its morals, sound in its principles, improved in its geography, and not wholly ignorant of ancient and modern history.

Advertisements in the foregoing style continued to be fired off, in the manner of minute guns, till the 11th June (five long months of expectation) when the immediate approach of the great Lady was announced by a whole salvo and a flourish of trumpets.

‘Shortly will be published,  
ITALY, BY LADY MORGAN. —

‘Those who desire copies of this Work on the *day of publication*, are requested to forward their orders *immediately* to their respective booksellers.’

What can better paint the eagerness of the public, and the laudable anxiety of the bookseller to gratify the universal appetite! The world ‘stands tiptoe’ for this literary dawn; crowds wait its appearance in breathless expectation,—nay, so alarming is the concourse, that the publisher apprehends his shop may be endangered, and, with great prudence, endeavours to divert the crowd to different quarters of the town. The device, though ingenious, proved to be unnecessary: for it appears that no great anxiety was evinced for those very early copies—a tardiness which, we own, rather surprises us, considering the proverbial gullibility  
of

of the English nation, and that no one could have known, at that time, how stupid the book was.

The work however was too important to the publishers to be abandoned to its own struggles into life; and the principles of the renowned Mr. Puff were too apposite to be neglected on such an occasion. 'The Puff collusive,' says that Patriarch of the art, 'is the newest of any; for it acts in the disguise of determined hostility. It is much used by bold booksellers and enterprising poets: "an *indignant* correspondent observes, that Belzebub's Cotillon or "Proserpine's Fête Champêtre is one of the most unjustifiable performances he ever read; the severity with which certain characters are handled, is quite shocking," &c. &c.—From this hint the puffer of the Morning Chronicle, spake:—

'Lady Morgan's Italy has now been open to the public for several days, and already we observe that the warm enthusiasm, &c. &c. which animates her pages, has put all the race of intolerant critics into a STATE OF FURY—Lady Morgan has kindled their indignation,'—&c. &c.

This was a bold stroke—but it failed:—the '*fury*' and the '*indignation*' excited no corresponding curiosity; and 'Lady Morgan's Italy continued open several days' longer, without any increased desire on the part of the public to avail themselves of it. A new expedient was therefore resorted to, and the literary world was accordingly favoured with the following important notice.

'(Advertisement.) LADY MORGAN'S ITALY.—We are requested to state that, in consequence of the *very great* expenses attending the production of this work, the publishers have no present intention of printing it in any *other form* than that now on sale, in two volumes quarto, and that consequently, the report which has been propagated to the contrary, is wholly without foundation.'—Morning Chronicle, July.

Bad and blundering as the style of this advertisement is, we do not think it was written by Lady Morgan herself—she would hardly have made so direct a confession of the dulness of the sale, and still less would she have alluded to the VERY GREAT EXPENSES attending the work. We indeed have little doubt, that she reddened to the very eye-balls at reading it. What avails it that the penner of the puff represents the sale of the quarto to be only retarded by the public anxiety to possess the octavo!—His officious excuse was only a transparent insult, and the real effect, substantial disgrace.

This unlucky failure brought back the parties to the puff collusive: they took, however, the precaution of seasoning rather higher than in the former instance; and, we doubt not, confidently



dently expected that such a paragraph as the following would stimulate the dulllest appetite.

‘LADY MORGAN’S ITALY.

‘It is not to be wondered at that this Lady should encounter all the virulence and malignity of the tools of despotism—her undaunted exposure of the tyranny by which Italy has been ruined entitles her to the honour of their abuse; but her fame is fixed on a rock!’—*Morning Chron.* July 14.

‘Fixed upon a rock,’ this modern Andromeda certainly was,—and, what is more pitiable, no heroic Perseus could be found to take her off. It is not surprizing, therefore, to find the bewildered puffers at their wits’ ends, and attempting to administer their *ad-minicula* in a coarser shape.

It is no longer the simple name of LADY MORGAN which is to draw crowds to all the bookshops in London; it is no longer a unanimous admiration of that great woman, only differing whether she is *most* excellent in an *octavo* or a *quarto* shape; it is no longer the ‘enmity of tyrants’ and ‘the malignant fury of the reptiles she has crushed,’ which testify her success—Alas! no—we have now arrived at a plain confession, that the public do not care a straw about her or her book:—an attempt, however, is made to convince them that they are all in the wrong, and a portentous eulogy, extracted from a paper of which we do not happen to have heard before, called the WEEKLY REGISTER, is now appended to the advertisements.

Meanness seldom accomplishes its object, and generally involves the necessity of further meannesses—the ‘testimonium incerti auctoris’ in favour of the great Corinna of the Radicals seems not only to have utterly failed, but to have been the prelude to the most humiliating mendicity—‘public impatience—profound views—gay anecdotes—liberal spirit—characteristic portraits—inspirations of genius’—all are forgotten, or despised; and we are informed, at the end of August, that there has been just published,—‘Italy, by Lady Morgan, in two volumes, 4to. containing nearly 900 closely printed pages, price *Sl.* 13s. 6d.’

What! are all the praises of the *Morning Chronicle*, and all the critical approbation of the *Weekly Register* come to *this*?—that nothing can be said for the *quality* of the article, but that, as for *quantity*, you will hardly any where get such a heap for the same money!—Pudet, pudet!—But we have done with her Ladyship—we hope, and almost believe, for ever!

‘More last words!’—Just as this sheet was going to the press, we received the puff final—the *forlorn hope* of puffing, in ‘a letter from Lady Morgan to her Reviewers.’ We shall make but two remarks on it; first, that it is as dull (we had almost said as unintelligible)

ligible) as the great work itself, and as clumsy as the series of shifts which we have already exposed: and secondly, that we find Lady Morgan adopts the argumentum à crumenâ, of which even we supposed she would be ashamed;—for, says this disinterested philosopher and logical reasoner, ‘the price given for my last venture from Italy is the best answer to those who endeavoured to undervalue the cargo.’ No doubt Lady Morgan thinks this proof very satisfactory; but what is it to the publisher, who paid for the work before it was written, or to the public, who will not buy it?—Instead of afflicting the public with this interminable ‘Letter,’ Lady Morgan should, we think, have tried its effect in private on her publishers, who are acting in direct opposition to her delicate feelings. She labours to show that ‘reviews of every calibre (as she elegantly phrases it) enfeeble public taste by pretending to guide it;’ and, accordingly, she exhibits a very dignified contempt of their ‘decisions;’ while her publishers (as appears from a bill just sent to us) are anxiously employed in collecting from periodical works of all descriptions, whig, radical, and atheistical, every rag and scrap of fulsome criticism which the zeal of her partizans has for months been dispersing among them.

‘By day and night! but this is wondrous strange!’

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ART. XII.—*De la Constitution de l'Angleterre et des Changemens qu'elle a éprouvés tant dans son Esprit que dans ses Formes, depuis son Origine jusqu'à nos jours: avec quelques Remarques sur l'ancienne Constitution de France.* Par un Anglois. Paris. 1820. 2d edit.

THIS is a bold title for a slender octavo of ninety-nine pages; and the adventurous spirit of the author further appears, before he has reached his twentieth line, in an attack upon two men whom we are in the habit of considering as the champions and expounders of our laws and constitution—De Lolme and Blackstone. We could indeed give him up a small portion of the Genevese writer; not because he is a foreigner, but because we do not hold him in the first rank of estimation in point of talent: but we cannot so easily indulge him with regard to Blackstone, who certainly had a clear and comprehensive mind, and whose Commentaries are, in many respects, a model of English writing. Notwithstanding this, however, and although there is not any thing in the work before us which can be considered as altogether new in this country, yet it is one of the neatest presents that has been made to France for many years. It contains, in a very short space, more of that species of information which might be useful there, than all the works which have appeared, in that country, since liberty became the fashion; and it might even help to correct many erroneous

roneous notions prevalent in England respecting our neighbours. The object of the author is to point out, to the tyros of freedom, the means by which the veterans have advanced; and, consequently, he was under the necessity of making them acquainted with many of their own faults, and of the good things which their predecessors, after countless efforts, had acquired.

This, however, is not the kind of political publication which succeeds best in the atmosphere of Paris. There nothing is admired that does not flatter the glory, and spread the renown of the nation. Praise of France, and abuse of England, will make any work saleable. One of the inconveniences of our free press,—yet God forbid that even that should be much diminished,—is that so much national invective circulates, not only at home, but even finds its way to the continent, where it is eagerly devoured and universally credited. We are convinced that if the respectable writers of this country, who attack the measures of government because they conscientiously disapprove of them, could imagine how much their occasional abuse of the British nation, in general, has contributed to lower its reputation in the judgment of Europe, they would become more considerate, and, we will add, more just. Many writers we certainly have, who desire no better than to disparage their native land; and the more envenomed their pen, the more they are caressed. They become, indeed, the grand authorities for all the degrading opinions respecting us; and when un Anglois l'a dit, or un Anglois l'a écrit, there is no reply. No person who has not witnessed it could credit the avidity with which our unpatriotic writings are received in France, and the influence they have upon the general mind. Even the government of that country has, in all times, been too much disposed to take its ideas upon the government of England from the journals which systematically oppose its measures; and the most virulent of these is generally chosen as the text-book of French statesmen. Some years ago, a M. Ferry de St. Constant published a work upon England, professing to give a picture of the nation drawn by itself. He rummaged, like Mr. Walsh, all the scurrilous and anti-British lampoons of a hundred years standing; and thus gave '*Les Anglois peints par eux-mêmes.*' This production was as highly relished in France as that of General Pillet, and as much believed as that of M. Rubichon; and the author had moreover a character for extreme candour, for he gave no opinion that was not extracted from a British writer.

Mr. Frisell, the author of the work before us, establishes the resemblance between the ancient parliaments of England and France, during the Saxon kings in the former country, and under the second dynasty in the latter. He then proceeds to trace the differences which gradually introduced themselves, and which ulti-

mately rendered the entire governments of both empires as unlike as if they had issued from the most dissimilar sources. His most valuable observations relate to the aristocracy of this country, and to the principles by which it is maintained and invigorated: principles which every French revolutionary writer, obeying the malignity of passion, has mistaken, or purposely misrepresented; and which Mr. Frisell recommends to the cool consideration of the French public. Comparisons of this kind are always useful to those who sincerely wish to profit by them; and, for this reason, we think Mr. Frisell has rendered an essential service to his country. Since the opening of the States-General in May, 1789, we do not think that any thing more plainly wise, and more sensibly practical, has been spoken or printed in the French republic, or empire, or monarchy, whether absolute or constitutional, usurped or legitimate.

We mention the opening of the States-General, because it is considered, by many, as the epocha from which all practical wisdom dates in France, and as the commencement of a new era. We cannot however consider it entirely in this light. The Assembly of the Notables had preceded it by more than two years; and, as the last convocation of the States had been in 1614, that is to say, about 170 years earlier, the meeting of the former, in February, 1787, may be held to be the first overt act of a change in the practice of the government. But it would, in fact, be a narrow view of the subject, which would mistake either the one or the other for the principle of all that has ensued. It would not be easy, nay, it would not be possible, to assign the precise moment or circumstance from which the overthrow of the oldest monarchy of Europe may date its origin; an overthrow which had long been threatening, and still longer approaching. Human catastrophes hang together by many an unseen link; and if a wider range of speculation were allotted to mankind, they would immediately perceive that the simplicity which ascribes the events of history to their proximate causes is ignorance. Every thing that is, is a consequence of every thing that has preceded; and all that remains to be acted in the great drama of the world is now unconsciously preparing. A more striking example of this truth could not be found, than the change which took place in France toward the end of the last century; a change not only prodigious in itself, but productive of a more rapid succession of varying fortunes to empires, whom long civilization and the exercise of much thought ought to have placed beyond the reach of casualties, than any which could be found in the annals of mankind.

Preparatory traces of the French revolution may be detected in the whole history of France; and its principal characteristics easily discovered in the characteristics of other times. Neither would

would it be 'to consider too curiously to consider it so;' but to enter minutely into the investigations necessary to demonstrate this assertion, would much exceed our limits. The subject, however, is so interesting, that we cannot pass it by in total silence; and we will attempt, as much as time and space will allow, to show that the events of 1789, and of the years which followed, were in perfect analogy with those of the preceding periods. To do this, it is necessary to offer a few preliminary observations, and state some previous principles which, though we cannot now stop to demonstrate them, we think sufficiently palpable to be admitted in a discussion of this nature.

It has been too much the practice, even in this enlightened age, to attribute the good or evil fortunes of nations, the liberty they have enjoyed, or the despotism they have suffered, to their institutions, and to neglect the sources from which those institutions sprung, or the causes which eventually modified them; to consider them as the result of chance, or as the gift of heaven, and not, in any degree, as the intentional work of men, or as established by the combination of those who are to live under them. The operation of the understanding, indeed, in forming them, is not always manifest; but it is to be found incorporate in every limb and feature. In some communities it is more immediately perceptible than in others; and no person, even upon the earliest acquaintance with the Spartans, has denied that the laws and institutions by which they were governed were the result of intention in the legislator, approved by the common consent of the people. The mind and spirit which gave laws to Rome are also evident; and in modern times, the United States of America at once formed their constitution according to a general design. But the compact is not always so apparent; neither is the connection between the national mind, which moulds the institutions of empires, and the institutions which are the result, so immediately perceptible. It is, however, in as full existence in one instance as in another; and whether it produces its effects suddenly and in a single moment, as was the case when the laws of Lycurgus were promulgated in Sparta, or by the silent workings of time; whether it flashes directly on the conviction of him who observes mankind, or only gleams through the ruins of antiquity, it is still the same; as the meteor, which, whether it bursts in lightning from the clouds, or escapes unseen through the atmosphere, still is electric matter.

The social mind existed before institutions were thought of. When any number of individuals consent to live together, each throws into the compact the disposition which nature had given him, modified by the events and circumstances which influenced his whole preceding life. The common stock of national quali-

ties is the mean term of all these propensities, and becomes, in its turn, the impelling power which directs and fashions every future movement. Its collective impulse acts upon the community in the same manner as, before it was united, it acted upon its separate members; and as it once was busied in promoting individual good, in devising means of solitary advantage, it now becomes solicitous about the general welfare; and combines the measures by which the compact may be preserved and perfected.

The mistake which we are endeavouring to rectify, and which is one of the most serious that can be committed in political philosophy, arises from confounding the cause and origin of institutions with the re-action, which, when once established, they exercise upon the minds of all who live under them. This re-action we are far from denying; nay we even allow it greater scope than many, who do not make the distinction we would here establish. It is the assimilating power of extended empires; the cause of all the resemblances discoverable between the subjects of the extremest provinces of the widest kingdoms: the reason why the northern and the southern Chinese, whom natural position should have left so dissimilar, are in so many points alike; why, on the eastern and the western sides of the Rhine and the Rhone, the original differences between the nations dwelling near them have been increased; which has marked a stronger disparity than even nature had established between the inhabitants of either shore of the channel, that divides this country from France; and daily diminishes that which once existed between the sister islands of the British realm. In a word, it has produced all the effects of national character, which have been ascribed to boundaries; but which boundaries are utterly insufficient to explain. But institutions are not the less a primary result of the minds and hearts, of the understandings and the feelings, of the whole characters of those who form them; although they afterwards become secondary causes of later dispositions among men. They are the links which unite the past with the present, the earliest with the latest condition of nations; and firmly but imperceptibly join what was with what now is. They must then be in unison with the dispositions of their founders. They must provide for the exigencies of their situation, natural and social. They must call in every debt, and pay every obligation of the community. When they fail to perform these conditions, it is because the first law of their formation has been infringed; and they must lead, through a series of incongruities and misfortunes, through all the struggles which nature ever makes to resume her rights when they have been violated, to a disastrous end. The fall of the greatest empire of the world was but a consequence of this universal law, though corrupton

ruption and luxury were the ostensible means by which it was accomplished; and many examples might be found in history to prove that such is the inviolable rule.

Seduced by the fatal mistake to which we have just adverted, politicians have been erroneously led to suppose that, by introducing the forms of government which have succeeded in one state into another, however different its natural situation may have been, the character of the people that adopts them, will be made to resemble that of the nation in which they were indigenous; and that every country may thus become susceptible of the same form of government, and enjoy the same degree of liberty. But without the spirit that first animated them, institutions are bodies without souls. Men have their moral as well as their physical wants, and it is by them that they are taught the use of their faculties; by them, that they are urged to seek out the powers of mind and body which can assist them; and to devise or apply the means of making their situation more tolerable. It would be difficult to say which of the two impulses, in a being so constituted as man, is the most effectual: but it is sufficient that either of them be counteracted, to make his existence incomplete. His moral no less than his physical wants result from all the circumstances in which he dwells; and, though some of them may reside in the imagination, by much the greatest part of them is suggested by the soundest dictates of reason, and increases in proportion as his mind becomes expanded. If Providence had not scattered through the earth some benevolent deficiencies, men would have left their native soil untilled. Without some kindly solicitude concerning future events, the human mind would have remained inactive; and, in a boundless expanse of pleasure to which no painful limits were affixed, its energies would never have been roused. The exigencies which awaken his powers have created and modified all the institutions of man; and unless those exigencies can be made the same throughout, to give the same impressions to the mind, to develop the same modes of thought, the same habits of combination, it is in vain that institutions would be carried round the globe, from people to people. Wherever laws, and constitutions, and forms of government are artificially established, their decay will ensue, like the decay of all that is in opposition to nature. Rarely indeed have they prospered, except where they have grown spontaneously, and remained under the guidance of the same spirit which gave them birth. The nobler they are, the greater is the ruin they may cause; as the armour of a giant is more fatal to the dwarf, who would use it in his defence, than the sword of an enemy.

Every abstract principle of our natures and every page of  
history



history confirm the preceding opinions; yet the calamities which during the last thirty years, those years in which, according to the general progress of reason, mankind ought to have been the wisest—and during which they certainly called themselves so—have ravaged the most improved portion of the world, had no other origin than their perversion. And neither old nor new experience seems to have taught prudence; for all that now threatens Europe may be traced to the same misconception of their truth and importance. The cause and scene—for a short time the only scene—of these evils was France. But the French are not a people to keep misfortune to themselves: and convulsed with rage and madness, with enthusiasm and despair, amid the flaming ruins they had made at home, they flung their fire-brands around them to kindle new conflagrations; and light up, if they could, the funeral pile of European civilization.

Such sentiments may appear extraordinary to those who have been in the habit of admiring the various phases of French politics, since the revolution of 1789. But we are not less ardent votaries of true liberty than they are; neither do we yield to any in our hopes and wishes, that a time may come when all shall partake in the blessing. As Englishmen, we feel too much its value, not to wish it may become universal; as men who have long possessed it, we know none of the little jealousies of monarchies, from which it is banished; and we should not boast that we are exempt from the envy and intrigue which reign in them, were it not for the eternal attacks which they who never were free, delight to repeat against our nation. Neither are we among the ‘abettors of arbitrary power, who profess the greatest inward veneration for liberty, and give it a little mouth honour now and then in the abstract, but who discourage all that might tend to promote it; and eagerly and angrily defend all the institutions by which it is repressed.’ It is *not* the abstract theory of liberty which we venerate, but its practice; and we would see that practice not only extended to a greater number of our fellow creatures, but even, if possible, enlarged and perfected. If in the burning sands of Ethiopia,—if among the wilds of arctic snow—there dwells a nation capable of liberty, it shall have our feeble voice and prayer. If it can be proved that the country in which liberty has best thriven, has, by an increase of wisdom and virtue, received new capability for freedom, we ardently desire it may accomplish its destiny; and, more than any, we shall rejoice in its happy calling, fully convinced that the perfection of government depends upon the perfection of men. If all the laws, the forms which have been devised to complete the design of good, which our unassisted nature could not have accomplished; if all our institutions,—those instruments

instruments which the instinct of improvement puts into our hands to correct human failings, and to strengthen human weaknesses, are found unnecessary, let them be abolished as useless weights, which clog the onward motion of society, and the advancement of intellect. If our prudence and our passions, our wisdom and our folly, our virtues and our vices can balance each other so equally, that the usual conflicts they produce shall cease, all balance in the state is useless: King, Lords and Commons, may be dispensed with. But the hypothesis that all this is possible, is what, in our minds, constitutes the abstract veneration for liberty, and a veneration which always must remain abstract! And woe to the nations that should attempt to practise it! The greatest plague which can be inflicted upon a people, is the illusion that they are wiser and better than they truly are; above all, if that illusion tempts them actively to aspire at things which can be accomplished only by the reality of wisdom and virtue.

It is the curse of vanity to live and to delight in perpetual delusion; never to know, nor to desire to know, the truth relating to any thing that accompanies it; and to consider all its visions as realities. The French, more than any European nation, labour under this malediction. No sooner had they heard that there was in some part of the world and in actual practice, a thing called liberty, than they said, 'Let us be free;' and thought that freedom must follow, as light was elicited, by divine command. But their omnipotence failed them; for out of that wish arose confusion, and chaos very nearly came again.

In the whole character and constitution of the French nation, there is scarcely a single element which could enter into the composition of a system of liberty. Even the best qualities, as well of their understandings as of their hearts, are not of a nature to endure it; and the failings of the one, as of the other, are particularly adverse to it. Could freedom be secured, as a bastille may be overthrown, by enthusiasm and disorder; could an ardent momentary impulse, suddenly followed by as ardent a contradiction, without a passive interval; could levity in serious concerns, and earnestness in trifles; could an unsteady will and wavering fancy, an imagination warmed by caprice, an irritable intellect over whose impetuosity reason has but little controul, produce any thing stable, then indeed freedom might be transplanted into France; and though we know she could not have invented it, we might hope she could have received it. But the real state of things is far otherwise. Liberty is not a detached and single idea. It is a system of thoughts and wishes, not existing in a single head or heart, but in the whole system of heads and hearts which compose the nation. All the population must be fitted to

feel and understand all its principles, or it cannot exist. It must be pursued with a devout and uniform fervour, that knows no interruption. Homer may slumber, but not the people who would be free. Perpetual watchfulness is their doom; not the broken vigilance of those who, one day, are deaf to all its rational demands, and the next suppose they can compensate their negligence by fretfulness, intemperance, and outrage.—As to the vices of the French, if they did no more than resemble the vices of other nations, they would be sufficiently in opposition with freedom. But they are nationally of a darker hue; and, in the course of this examination, we shall have occasion to demonstrate that none ever militated so strongly against reasonable practical liberty, though they may agree very well with the abstraction of all government, and with unlimited licentiousness.

More striking proofs could not be found, that institutions spring out of the moral wants of nations, and that they are modified by the characters of men, than in the histories of England and France. In the very early periods of both countries, as our author has observed, many of the laws and forms of government were alike; and we will add, for this very evident reason,—both nations had a common origin. Acted upon by the same physical and moral wants, they had recourse to the same means of providing for them; and their minds were moulded in one form. But this similarity could last only as long as both continued under the influence of the same natural circumstances; and no sooner did their Celtic ancestors divide and complete their separate establishments in Gaul and Britain, than the new position, in which each portion of the emigrants was placed, began to produce a change in their characters, and to create the difference which time has so strongly confirmed. Every opinion, custom, and institution, to which they had been the most attached, in their former habitations, was preserved or altered, in proportion as it was analogous to their new situation; and to this the gradual decay of some in one nation, and their continuance in the other, may be wholly ascribed. It would be superfluous to swell the list of examples with all that we could adduce. The preservation of a national assembly and of the trial by jury in England, and the complete disuse of both in France, though both had been common in the country of the Celts, are sufficient to show to what an extent their modern descendants, placed in neighbouring though dissimilar regions, differ at this moment.

Most of the writers, who have treated this subject, as Mably, De Lolme, Millar, &c. and none more than Madame de Staël, have fallen into the common error of supposing the changes, through which the institutions of England and France have passed,

passed, and the personages who have effected those changes, to be the causes of all the events they would explain. Such, indeed, have frequently been the agencies by means of which the successive variations have been accomplished; but the causes are more remote, and must be looked for in the circumstances which fashion both events and persons, and without which, neither the one nor the other could have existed precisely as they did. The individual who exercises the most unlimited authority over his countrymen or subjects, can only acquire it—unless, indeed, he comes at the head of irresistible myriads—by taking possession of certain parts of their disposition, to which he must at first conform, even though he may afterwards modify them; and all that he can do is to follow a mean term between his will and theirs, further regulated by his strength and theirs. This maxim, true of Gengis Khan and of Timour; true even of the Tartars, whose innumerable hosts overran the Chinese territory, is still more undeniable with regard to the concerns of Europe, and of every country where intellect prevails. In the most arbitrary acts of the greatest tyrant, the disposition of the nation upon whom he tramples must be considered according to this rule; and none has ever dared to violate it with impunity.

The investigation which would naturally spring out of the preceding observations, would be very important, but very long; and we shall not engage in it. We must, however, attempt to bring together certain facts in the history of France, which will help to prove our opinion that the French are one of the nations of Europe that always has manifested the smallest capability for true and rational liberty, as also the smallest disposition to acquire it; that their capability and disposition in its favour have not increased in such a degree as to enable them, even at this moment, to ensure its possession; and that the nations who copy them, who, like them, make liberty precede, not follow wisdom and virtue, will inevitably, like them, and all the abstract venerator of a goddess more difficult to fix than Fortune herself, wander far and woefully away from their object; and return again, as they did, after countless miseries to themselves and others, and calamities which their children's children will lament, to a station still farther separated from happiness and freedom than any on which they ever stood before. It is not by scrutinizing their forms of government that we shall endeavour to prove this; but by taking up the inquiry at a point nearer to first causes, and examining not what their institutions were, but what were their characters, as may be deduced from the overt acts of their history; and by comparing them with those which they have performed during their late revolution.

In

In pursuing this inquiry, we shall be compelled to bring to notice many painful topics; but the subject is of too vast an import to mankind, not to plead as our excuse, even in the minds of those whom we may the most displease. We think that a fair and calm investigation of the principles in the human mind and heart, which experience, no less than theory, has shown to be the surest basis of freedom—should it ever meet the eyes of those who are now preparing to start in the noble course—might do some service, at a moment when the rallying cry which unites or divides the nations, not of Europe only, but of the world, is liberty. The misfortunes which have arisen from erroneous notions on the subject, from depraved and corrupted means of pursuing it; and from abusive applications of its principles, have far exceeded, in a few years, ages of the foulest tyranny. Neither do we perceive that the impressions left upon the minds of men, the accessions won to knowledge, or morality, are likely to compensate those misfortunes; and long centuries of happiness, such as men have rarely experienced, must follow this iron epoch, before we can admit that the late struggles, made in the name of liberty, have not been injurious to herself and to mankind.

Lewis XVI., the monarch under whom this mighty revolution, whose effects we still deplore, broke out, was the sixty-ninth sovereign of his country, the thirty-sixth of his own dynasty, from the founder of which he was, in the male line, the twenty-ninth, and in the female line the thirty-second descendant; therefore, all that long honours and family glory could bestow upon a sovereign was centered in him. He had, besides, an endearing claim to the love of a people, who boasted a longer hereditary attachment to their monarchs than any in Europe; many virtues, the mildest and the warmest affections, with the most conscientious inclination to do nothing but good. One single defect rendered all these qualities abortive: his mind was not in unison with the spirit of his age; and this was stronger than his good intentions, because it was a result of the irresistible combinations of time.

The attachment of the French to their monarchs was not of a nature to gratify reflecting men. It partook too much of instinct, and too little of reason; too much of imagination, and not enough of affection. It resulted from blind devotedness more than from choice; and, having once conceived it to be the summary of every patriotic virtue, they wound up their minds rather than their hearts, to the fulfilment of this fancied duty. When a prince was born, they did not wait to know what his qualities might be, and whether he was likely to merit their regard. They loved him at first sight, nay, before—in his mother's womb—almost as much as they would have done at the end of a long

long and happy reign. It was sufficient that he sprang from the loins of a monarch to give him every title to their adoration. Posterity has, indeed, made some distinction between the good and the bad, and endeared the memories of St. Louis, Francis I. and Henry IV.; but the duty of attachment, submission, and respect, was alike during the life of every sovereign, whatever may have been his deserts. In former times, the *Maires du Palais*, who kept their sovereigns prisoners, and governed without controul, acted in the name and behalf, and under the apparent sanction of the kings their masters. These *Majores Domus Regiæ*, as they were called, had power enough to dismiss and annul the general assemblies of the nation in the *Champ-de-Mars*, under the last kings of the first race; yet Pepin, who inherited all the authority of his father and his grandfather, and who finally obtained the crown, was compelled, even in the plenitude of his power, to acknowledge Childeric as his monarch, and to govern in his name. In later periods, under weak or infant sovereigns, the national feeling was the same; and the ambitious princes of the royal blood who aspired to authority, the nobles who sided with them, all the factions of the court, and all the vassals of the empire, founded their pretensions on the right of the king, whom none ever conceived a project of deposing, but whom all were struggling to hold in subjection. Of the ten minorities which followed the age of Philip I. five produced long and sanguinary contests. The first was that of Charles VI. when the Regency was disputed by his four uncles, not one of whom ever aspired to the throne; though all used every means of violence, artifice, and intrigue, to secure a temporary authority in the name of the sovereign. The minority of Charles IX., during which Catherine de' Medici was Regent, gave rise to five civil wars, and, during it, the storm of the St. Bartholomew was gathering. Louis XIII. succeeded his assassinated father at the age of nine; and another Medici, his mother, destroyed, in a moment, all the good which the first of the Bourbons had been labouring to introduce; drove from her court the man whom he honoured as his friend and minister, and who deservedly united both these titles; filled the palace with petty factions; placed near her person foreigners and intriguers with whom she shared her power, and who aided her to keep the king in bondage; while attachment to the race of St. Louis still held him on his throne.

The reign of Louis XIV., begun, before he was five years old, in the midst of disorders, beheld, in its first years, the favour and intrigues of a stranger, Mazarin; the arts and licentiousness of the Cardinal de Retz, exciting civil discord without the pretence of religion; the minor king in flight, yet always a king; his seat of empire

empire besieged by his own cousin, yet himself always supposed upon his throne; puns, pleasantries, and songs, calembourgs and vaudevilles, abounding in the midst of horrors and disasters; the princes of the royal blood imprisoned; Mazarin returning from exile at the head of an army, proscribing and proscribed; the Fronde, Barricadoes, civil wars, battles, massacres at the gates of Paris, and in Paris; and the King, though at length detested, not dethroned. The death of this monarch, whose name the French have affixed to the period of their history, which they once conceived to be the most glorious, showed that their respect for his memory was not as great as their adulation of him while living. The profligate Duke of Orleans, (a name often connected with recollections fatal to the repose of his family,) uncle of the infant king, forced his ward, but five years old, to appear at a *lit de justice*, for the purpose of setting aside the last arrangement of his great-grandfather, who, at the beginning of his own reign, at nearly the same age, and with the same pompous mockery, had presided, on a like occasion, to hear the will of his own father annulled; and Philip d'Orleans, in contradiction to the testament of Louis XIV., was declared, by the parliament, sole and absolute Regent. But Louis XV. was the last sovereign of his race, whom his subjects were to love; and it seemed as if the most ill-judging hatred had been destined to avenge, in a single instant, long ages of indiscriminate attachment.

The power of the Regent, for the time being, was unbounded as the authority of the monarch himself. It was he who distributed justice, gave sanction to every edict, and dispensed every favour. He even received the revenues of the crown without being accountable for them. Such means would surely have been sufficient to dispossess the rightful sovereign, if something more than is usual in other countries had not operated to balance their effect. In cases of minority, the Regent was moreover guardian of the minor's person; and thus possessed all that ambition could desire to accomplish in its wildest dreams. Yet, though the Regency was a subject of contest, the throne itself was not assailed; and the King, in whose name contending factions triumphed, and with whose authority each, in its turn, sought to countenance its aggression, was in no danger of losing his right. The love of the nation manifested itself in preserving his inheritance; but was not very scrupulous in contributing to his happiness, or in making him personally respected. During the Regency, instituted in the absence of John, who was taken prisoner in the battle of Poitiers, the kingdom became a scene of disorders, such as few countries have witnessed; and respect for the captive monarch was incapable of containing any of the factions within just bounds. The Dauphin



Dauphin was thrice driven from his capital, after seeing some of his principal courtiers murdered before his face, and the whole kingdom filled with plots and insurrections, without any definite object but wanton insubordination. Yet though it never was doubted that Charles de Navarre was ambitious of obtaining the Regency, he dared not avow his thoughts of aspiring to the throne, even though he asserted that he could prove his right to it, as grandson of Louis X. When Charles VI. was afflicted with mental infirmity, the calamities of the state were still greater; if any evils can exceed those which befel France during the captivity of John. The severest contest ever known for a Regency was under this monarch; the long and bloody and treacherous animosities of the rival factions of Orleans and Burgundy divided the kingdom; while the King was kept immured, in want of the common necessities of life, and robbed of every thing—except his crown. Even the Dauphin, afterwards Charles VII., one of the most prosperous monarchs of France, was outraged in every point, excepting in his right to the throne; and anarchy was universal, amid universal acknowledgment of the legitimate and indefeasible claim of the descendants of Hugh Capet and St. Louis, in the due order of succession.

If the persevering zeal of the French upon this head was founded upon love to their sovereign and his family, it must be confessed that their mode of showing it was neither the most desirable nor the most efficient. They placed him in perpetual danger of losing, not his crown, but his life; and rent with civil discord and unmeaning strife, the realm which they called his inviolable patrimony. They respected the royal trunk too much to cut it down. They left it in possession of the soil, but they tore off all its branches. They put a sceptre in the hand of the lineal heir, and then disgraced the monarch, and kept the sovereign prisoner. During the captivity of John, the French showed little alacrity to raise the money for his ransom; and no sooner was it collected, than Marcel and his associates seized upon it, and applied it to their own factious purposes. And so difficult did he find it, on his return, to fulfil the article of the treaty, which set him at liberty for a stipulated ransom, that, for the sum of 600,000 golden crowns, he gave his daughter Isabella in marriage to John Galeas Visconti, in the year 1360, and consequently before the revolution, which placed that family on the ducal throne of Milan; that is to say, to use the words of Villani, ‘he sold his flesh and blood for a sum of money to a person much his inferior.’ It is true the resources of the nation were diminished by the wars and insurrections which had preceded;  
but

but its promptness to find new means was not proportioned to those which still remained.

The captivity of Francis I. offered new opportunity for disorders, and it was not neglected, though the firmness of the Regent his mother finally repressed them. When he was permitted to go back to France, the nation was violently irritated at the manner in which Charles V. had treated him and his family; and in a moment of enthusiasm the clergy offered 1,300,000 golden crowns as a subsidy to make war, in which the nobles and burgesses tendered their assistance. But when it became necessary to raise the sum of 2,000,000 for the ransom of his two sons whom he had left in Spain as hostages for his return there, the money was not to be found; and without the unbounded generosity of Henry VIII. who furnished him with nearly half the amount, the princes would probably have died in bondage. Yet Francis I. is one of the sovereigns to whose memory the French pay the greatest deference, 'as the father of letters, the model of chivalry, and the soul of honour'—notwithstanding his protest before witnesses against the treaty of Madrid, and his consequent refusal to fulfil it; and even John is among their respected monarchs. The English never have made the same parade of affection to their kings. Some of them, indeed, they have handled rather roughly; others they have cashiered somewhat cavalierly; yet, when they have made choice of a monarch on whom they can fix their affections, their love is a more active principle than the blind attachment of the French. When Richard, by the petty malice of two sovereigns, jealous of his glory,—and one of these was Philip Augustus,—was unjustly detained captive, his ransom was fixed at 150,000 marks of silver. The captivity of the superior lord was one of the cases provided for by the feudal tenures; and all the vassals of the kingdom were obliged to contribute. Twenty shillings were levied on every knight's fee in England. This mode of raising the sum, however, was too dilatory for the national feeling, and did not produce the amount expected; but the voluntary zeal of the people readily supplied the deficiency. Yet the nation had been cruelly drained of money by the crusades during many years.

Minorities and regencies have not been so frequent in England as in France; neither, when they did occur, were they marked by calamities like those which the French nation usually inflicted on itself in those interruptions to strong and undisputed government. Some of our regencies indeed have been epochs of great national virtue; and some of our regents, as Pembroke, Bedford, &c. were men of eminent worth. But usurpations have been much more common; and from the Norman conquest to the  
settlement

settlement of the disputes of York and Lancaster, seven or eight sovereigns ascended the throne without any right but the sword. Our dynasties, too, have frequently changed; and, upon the whole, we have shown little steadiness in our attachment to the families or persons of our sovereigns. This difference in our history, compared with that of France, depends altogether upon the ideas which have long prevailed in each country respecting government.

The subtle distinction which some, and among them Montesquieu, have attempted to establish between pure monarchy and despotism, is altogether sophistical: in a despotic empire, they say the despot governs by his own will; in a monarchy, the sovereign rules by established laws. But who made those laws? Do they suffice for every emergency? Have they foreseen every case? Are they to be immutable? And who is to alter them? Surely, if the monarch can, after certain formalities, order that his will shall be law, and punish those who oppose him, he may as well issue his mandate at once; and France, notwithstanding some deceitful forms, was, to all intents and purposes, a despotic monarchy. The monarch was the government, and all the government: but, in England, he was only a part of the government, generally not much more than a third part, and sometimes not so much. It became then of little comparative importance in what hands that third part was placed; but the same mind and spirit which could unwisely concentrate and deposit the whole essence of the state in one single idol, could easily suppose that idol inviolable and infallible. Such was the case of the French. They had not political wisdom enough to divide the powers of the realm into their three natural ramifications; but they adopted what perhaps, neglecting this best of all precautions, was the next wisest measure: by fixing the line in which the sceptre should invariably descend, they put it out of the power of ambition, of perfidy, of conquest, to give them monarchs; supposing, and truly supposing, that he who succeeds to a long line of royal ancestors has as fair a chance of inheriting their virtues, as he who ascends a throne by blood and usurpation. This principle they adopted at a very early period; and certainly, if the nation be compared with its sovereigns, and a due estimate be made of the proportion of virtue inherent in monarchies in general, it will be found that the kings of France were not inferior to their subjects. Some may indeed have been tyrannical, unjust, or sanguinary, but many were good; and a greater proportion of the characteristic vices of Frenchmen are to be found in the nation than among its monarchs.

Savages not yet civilized, and empires in the decay of national virtue,

virtue, are not scrupulous as to the means they employ to rid themselves of a sovereign, who by his vices or his virtues, his strength or his weakness, may not suit their purpose. Men in an intermediate state may be so fashioned to political superstition as to look upon the dismissal of a king, even by just means, as a violation of divine right. But certain it is, that in proportion as social improvement advances in its most intellectual modification, injustice of every kind, cruelty, treachery and wanton insubordination diminish. In the early periods of British history some barbarous instances of regicide occur, as the murders of Edward and Richard the Second; and in the rage of civil wars the death of Henry VI. and his son; or of the infant princes of York during the usurpation of Richard III. But such events ceased in England after that time, by increasing civilization; and because, better informed of its rights and duties, the nation had learned that crimes must bring on crimes, and assassination be followed by assassination. The condemnation of Charles I. was of a nature different from that of all the preceding regicides; and however unwarrantable the act itself may have been, however the work of frenzy and faction, the mode of committing it bespoke an immeasurable progress in the institutions of the realm, and consequently in the minds of the people. The distance which separates the brutal act of Gournay and Mantravers, from a sentence pronounced by a great national council, must be acknowledged to be immense, even by those who are the most inclined to maintain, that in the latter instance the crime was more national. The murder of Charles was the last that occurred in England; and, better instructed in our second revolution than in our first, we avoided this motive for the re-action of vengeance, and allowed the monarch with his family to escape. One or two solitary instances of attempts directed against the best, the most upright, moral and religious monarch that ever sat upon a Christian throne, have a little sullied our recent annals; but as they were made chiefly by madmen they impeach our reason rather than our morals. The nation had in fact improved in wisdom and in virtue, had learned milder maxims and humaner practices; because the reflexion to which our natural situation has eternally bound us down must ever lead to such results, should no stronger power interfere to push us violently aside.

But the power which restrained the arm of the French from assassinating their monarchs in times of greater ignorance, was not reason, was not morality, was not even the blind affection they professed to the dynasty. It was political superstition; a dread of violating the divine right, by which they held themselves subjects of their monarchs. But when another and a stronger superstition

superstition than that which binds man to man arose; when the bonds which unite him to his Creator were supposed to be violated, or when the former superstition was, by the mere progress of general light, discovered to be an error, restraint was broken down. It is in the later periods of French history, and while in England, juster notions of kingly rights and duties had been acquired, that we must look for examples of their infringement. During the last eight reigns in that country, the lives of six kings have been attempted, four of whom perished by the hands of their murderers; three princes of the royal blood were put to death, together with one queen and two princesses; and had not the whole royal family betaken themselves to flight, not one would have escaped. Our revolutionary rage against the Stuarts was satisfied with one victim in the family; and we hardly pursued even those who pursued us. From these facts we think our assertion wholly justifiable, that the love which the French bore to their sovereigns was enthusiastic, superstitious, indiscriminate, partaking even of blind servility more than of rational affection, and not promising for a future time any of the great features of reason, which a more distinguishing attachment would have given room to expect.

But even the forms of civil liberty had begun to be neglected at a very early period in France; and the pursuit was abandoned there, in proportion as we became more eagerly engaged in it. Under the Frankish kings, deliberating assemblies, in some shape or other, were known and practised; and Charlemagne, aided by councils of his peers and bishops, enacted laws. Peace was made at Strasbourgh between the three brothers, Lothaire, Lewis the German and Charles the Bold, in an assembly of the nation. In 888, Eudes was proclaimed king in the same manner; and one hundred years afterwards Hugh Capet thought it necessary to do away the irregularity of his succession to the throne, by obtaining the countenance of the same power. The times of meeting were not regularly fixed, or frequent; for during six centuries, that is to say from 613 to 1230, about thirty-five instances only could be found, and these by no means at equal intervals. After Lewis the Fat, by enfranchising the commons, had created a new order in his kingdom, and made the people partake of the authority which before had been confined to the lords and clergy, these assemblies took the form of states-general; and thus they continued until they were assembled under Lewis XVI., when they underwent their final innovation.

The step which Lewis the Fat had taken was one of the most likely that could be devised, to raise the people to a more respectable situation than they had ever before enjoyed. It was nearly

contemporary with the British charter of Henry I.; but though it seemed to allow greater privileges to the people than that of our monarch, it did in fact not give them more than was already possessed in England; for the condition of the lower orders was much better with us before Henry I. than it had been in France previously to Lewis VI. If the same disposition for liberty had prevailed in both countries, the beginning of the twelfth century was the era from which it should have continued to produce similar effects. But it was far otherwise; and while, in this island, the rights of the commons became every day more acknowledged, and their influence more felt, until all the orders and powers, and interests of the state were finally incorporated into our present happy constitution, the commons in France did not reap proportionate advantages from their enfranchisement. The causes of this difference we shall not look for in the forms or modes, according to which the national assemblies, in England called parliaments, in France states-general, met and deliberated. We shall rather endeavour to ascertain, why these forms and modes were so superior in one country to what they were in the other.

The persons who give the latest date to the institution of parliament, in England, assert it to be in the year 1264, the 49th of Henry I. The earliest authentic convocation of the states-general, and the admission of the third estate, with a deliberative voice in them, was in 1302, about forty years later. At their first institution these assemblies bore some resemblance to each other; but a very essential alteration took place in the British parliament, by its division into two houses, each of which became a distinct and independent branch of the legislature. In the year 1283 the Commons sat at Acton Bunnell, while the Peers were sitting at Shrewsbury (Hallam, vol. iii. 35.); but although the states-general frequently deliberated in separate chambers, according to the three orders that composed them, they in fact formed but one body, and presented the results of their deliberations as one, thus acting as a council of state, but not composing any thing like an efficient legal balance in the constitution. From the moment of its commencement, the influence of the British parliament went on increasing with very little interruption; and, after various struggles, such as are inseparable from the establishment of liberty, wherever it has not been entirely coeval with the empire itself, it attained the exact share of power which seems to be compatible with the rights of all parties, and the peace and happiness of the nation. But the states-general, very far from making any progress, rather sunk in influence and consideration, and did not maintain the rank which they once held in the councils of France, and which national wisdom certainly would not only

only have supported, but augmented. It would be curious to trace the progress, or rather the stagnancy of this assembly during nearly five centuries; and to show how completely and by what means it remained stationary. But we will confine ourselves to one single point; to the effect which the admission of the third estate to a deliberative voice produced upon the government of France.

As we before observed, the national assembly, while confined to peers and prelates, was convened about thirty-five times during six centuries, and at unequal intervals. All their meetings were peaceable, and produced no evil consequences to the nation—no riotings—no outrages—no massacres. The most troublesome (three in number) were those under Lewis the Debonnair, when this weak monarch was rather severely handled; and upon the whole, they were as wise and as good as any assemblies could be expected to be in those times. But, no sooner were the people admitted, than the states assumed a different aspect; and many of the sanguinary scenes which have dishonoured France, in the course of her annals, may be traced up to these deliberating assemblies.

The third convocation of the States-General, that in 1312, exactly ten years after their establishment, was in order to abolish the order of the Templars, and to execute a cruel task more cruelly in France than in any other part of Europe; for there these wretched knights were burned, while almost every other nation was satisfied with suppressing the order, and confiscating their property. The fifth, that under John in 1355, showed a certain feeling of the necessity of some regular administration, but an utter incapacity to accomplish it. They induced the king, for instance, to pledge himself not to divert the subsidies which should be granted to him, but to apply them *bonâ fide* to the purposes for which they were intended. This certainly was a very wise and prudent plan; but the mode of securing its execution was rather extraordinary:—in case of the king's breaking his faith, the deputies were bound by oath to disobey him, and to resist any force he might employ. But no means whatever were pointed out to effect this, neither was it possible in such a government to attempt it. It was in this assembly that the famous declaration was made, regulating many important things between the king and subject; but which, though it has been compared by the French to our *Magna Charta*, was a very imperfect sketch of it, and still more imperfectly adhered to. This however may be considered as one of the best periods of the States-General. After the battle of Poitiers, the Dauphin, afterwards Charles V., convoked another assembly; but instead of generously coming forward to relieve the disastrous state of the monarchy, they began to talk of



past grievances, and, in fact, very soon lost sight of both those objects in vindictive re-actions. We are far from censuring any attempt to reform abuses, and to establish just rights; and we acknowledge many of the views taken by the states to be perfectly wise; but the nation was not capable of carrying them into practice; and for this reason they terminated in confusion and blood. This meeting brought to light two men who subsequently became the scourges of their country; Robert le Coq, whom the sovereign had made bishop and duke of Laon; and Etienne Marcel, prevot des marchands, while the Dauphin, regent of the kingdom, was the slave and prisoner of his revolted subjects, who usurped every authority. In a word, anarchy, the jacquerie, the companies formed into regular banditti, the massacres committed in Paris and elsewhere by the populace—and they have no parallel in English history—accompanied or followed the meetings of the States-General, which took place during the captivity of John; but no efficient good to the nation resulted from them, because the nation required none—was conscious of none. The depravity of the nobility equalled that of the people; and they childishly disdained being present in the assembly with the third estate. The States-General held in 1359, conducted themselves better, and assisted the regent to bring the government into some shape, by opposing domestic, no less than foreign attacks.

In 1380, when the uncles of Charles V. (a minor) were disputing for the regency, the states again attempted to re-establish the lost rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities of the nation; but all their efforts terminated as they began, in theory, crowned by endless calamities; the maillotins, the massacre of all who were employed to receive the taxes, as of many others; and the punishment of the offenders by throwing them into the river without form of process; a practice which takes away all merit of originality from the *noyades* of the revolution. In 1413, a popular assembly, not indeed the States-General, compelled Charles VI. to enregister what were called the Cabochian ordinances, from the name of their author Caboché, a butcher; and which were worthy of such an origin. The people at this moment gained such an ascendancy in the state, that, had they known how, they might have moulded it as they pleased; and had the nation been capable of liberty, there certainly was no oppression on the part of the government, which could prevent its establishment. This may be considered as one of the periods of French history, during which the will of the people was the most prevalent; and consequently, during which their character, having the greatest scope to show itself, may be the most fairly appreciated. But instead of liberty, the French people chose anarchy,—in its most tremendous

tremendous forms. We are fatigued and disgusted with repeating the word massacre; but this period of the greatest popular emancipation and power is the period of the greatest cruelties; of the Armagnacs and the Bourguignons, who continued murdering each other for near forty years, and almost without astonishing the nation; of horrors which words cannot describe, and of which no extract can convey an idea. They must be read in the historians of the times, and in those who have copied from them; and even then they will appear incredible, for European history does not contain any thing which could induce a belief that they were possible among civilized beings.

In 1439 and 1440 the states met without doing any thing. Those who assembled under Charles VIII. in 1482, and from whom so much was expected, finding themselves too numerous to debate in one body, resolved themselves not into chambers, representing the kingdom according to the established orders of society, but into six nations—the worst mode of division that could be imagined. After a great parade of justice, order, &c. and restoring the memories of some illustrious victims of Lewis XI., they broke up abruptly. They were however the wisest and the best that had yet been assembled, and really did project and execute so many good things, that it is surprizing they did not accomplish more, and that so little of what they had effected was permanent. But the ingenuity of the French in avoiding liberty must often astonish those who attentively study their history. The states-general under Lewis XII. met only to annul a promise he had made by treaty, to give his daughter in marriage to Charles of Luxembourg. They helped him to break his royal word, then called him the father of his people, and were dismissed. In 1558 Henry II. introduced a fourth estate, by adding the chiefs of the magistracy to the assembly, under the title of *Etat de la Justice*. These states-general sat in so mutilated a form, that many historians allow them to have been but notables. The states-general of 1561, when the Chancellor l'Hopital spoke in the name of the king, after much talking, declared their incompetence to grant the taxes required, and were dismissed. The states of Blois, in 1576, wanted to take away the veto from the king and vest it in the hands of a commission; and without deciding any thing as to supplies, separated after resolving that the unity of religion should be maintained in France by pacific measures. Those assembled at the same place in 1588 made a great display of pompous oratory, says de Thou; and it was, during one or other of these sessions, that Henry III. declared himself the chief of a faction, proscribed about one quarter of his subjects, and connived at

the murder of the Duke and the Cardinal de Guise. Finally, in 1614, the states-general met for the last time previously to the revolution of 1789; and we will transcribe an account of their proceedings from the writings of a man who certainly was not adverse to deliberating assemblies in any form.

‘ Les derniers états avoient été rassemblés en 1614, au moment de la majorité de Louis XIII. et sous l’autorité toujours subsistante de Marie de Médicis. Ils furent convoqués à la hâte, et dissous de la même manière. On y vit les efforts du clergé pour faire reconnaître en France l’autorité temporelle du Pape, et le concile de Trente; mais aucune autre discussion importante n’occupa les états. Les trois ordres, rassemblés séparément, se rendoient des visites par commissaires, s’envoyoient réciproquement des orateurs. On observoit scrupuleusement toutes les étiquettes; on comptoit le nombre des pas que l’on faisoit dans une des trois chambres pour accompagner les délégués des deux autres, ou pour aller au devant d’eux. Il y avoit de ces pas un tel nombre pour le tiers-état, un tel nombre pour la noblesse, un tel autre pour le clergé, et l’on en tenoit registre. On inscrivait également les harangues; et ces harangues ressembloient à des déclamations théâtrales plutôt qu’à des controverses sérieuses. Enfin au milieu des complimens les plus fastidieux, il s’élevoit des querelles sur les phrases inconsidérées; et il fallut, entre autres, beaucoup de négociations et d’entrevues pour apaiser la fermentation occasionnée par une comparaison impertinente d’un orateur du tiers, qui en parlant au roi avoit désigné les nobles comme des adorateurs de la Déesse Pécune. On composa ensuite des doléances, et l’on espéroit recevoir quelque satisfaction avant la séparation des états; mais cette séparation fut ordonnée au moment même de la réception des cahiers. Les députés du tiers-état parurent humiliés et désolés d’être contraints à s’en retourner dans leurs baillages sans avoir rien obtenu pour la chose publique.’—*Necker, Révol. Française.*

From what we have said, the disposition of the French nation for a representative government, the aptitude of the people to exercise any legislative function; in a word, the share they have in all the qualities upon which liberty is founded, may fairly be deduced. The states-general were seldom convened, except upon some perilous occasion to the country—the captivity of the sovereign, a disputed regency, financial embarrassments, or national distresses of some kind. Their convocation was more a consequence of despair than of hope, or even of reason. It sometimes served to take off the odium of certain measures from the monarch, and make the orders of the nation believe those measures were of their own fabrication; sometimes to help the monarch to violate a promise, upon the plea of national expediency; at others, to assist him to be cruel and unjust. Sometimes a glimmering of wisdom appeared in their councils; but there never was virtue, energy, or union to carry any of their projects into lasting effect.

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The best that can be said of the states-general of France, and this but rarely, is that they left their country no worse than they found it. The general reputation they deserve is, that without securing any good to the people, they were the means of exciting them to tumult and revolt, which regularly increased in proportion as the third estate acquired influence and authority. Almost all the blood that has been shed in France by Frenchmen, since the time of Philip IV., and it has been most profusely shed by them, may be traced to the meeting of the states-general with the addition of the third estate.

As to the Notables and Parliaments, we shall say little of either. The former did not meet once in a century. The latter had a different composition and different functions from the States-General. They represented no part of the nation, for they were deputed by none. Their members required a peculiar education; and though they retained a portion of their original nature, they were in fact and practice courts of justice; they enregistered ordinances and made remonstrances, they condemned and acquitted prisoners. It was the parliament of Paris, the principal parliament of the kingdom, that among their good and evil deeds, ratified the peace between the Bourguignons and Orleanists; confiscated the estates of the Count d'Armagnac; refused to enregister an edict abolishing the Pragmatic Sanction; condemned to death the Duke de Nemours; refused to contribute taxes in the same proportion as the people; enregistered an edict establishing Orri inquisitor of the faith; and another, giving the Inquisition power only over the clergy; condemned Anne du Bourg to death as a Protestant; and shortly afterwards, the great and good Coligni; instituted an annual procession of thanksgiving for the massacre of the St. Bartholomew; were made the tool of successive factions, and the instrument of their vengeance; were forbidden by Lewis XIV. to deliberate upon matters of state or finances; to proceed against the ministers of his choice; to visit the great, or to receive presents for the administration of justice; were dismissed by the same monarch, who, while he was hunting at Vincennes, being informed of a refractory meeting they were then holding, suddenly appeared among them booted and spurred, with his whip in his hand, and forbade their proceeding; were deprived by him of the right of presenting remonstrances; called his illegitimate offspring to the throne; were again forbidden to deliberate, and told by the Garde des Sceaux, '*Le roi veut être obéi et sur le champ;*' were restored by the regent to their right of remonstrance; were exiled by Lewis XV. and recalled at the birth of Lewis XVI.; entered into a league with the other parliaments of the kingdom to form one body; provoked the people

of Paris to sedition; condemned to death Lally-Tollendal; were recognised by Lewis XV. as essentially the tribunal of peers, and almost immediately afterwards were exiled and cashiered; were reinstated by Lewis XVI. under whom, after enregistering an edict to assemble the States-General, according to the forms of 1614, they were finally dissolved by the National Assembly, and their judicial functions transferred to courts of justice created for the purpose.

The influence of the parliaments then had not increased; on the contrary, it had diminished; for the monarchs of the fourteenth century thought them necessary, and those of the eighteenth turned them adrift. No substitute for the States-General during their long suspension of nearly two centuries can be found in these assemblies; neither is there any other institution of France which can be considered in that light. The parliaments, however, upon the whole, did more good and less harm than the States-General, and for a very evident reason: the people of France, that portion of the population which in all countries properly constitutes the nation, had less to do with them, and their spirit had no representative there. Consequently, the parliaments were less turbulent and full as efficacious; contributed less to the effusion of blood, and just as much to liberty. Upon the whole, indeed, it may be questioned whether, with all their imperfections, they were not the best opposition to despotic power which the nation could admit of; and whether the very maximum of liberty of which the French are capable, may not be measured by the rights and privileges of this body, irregular and faulty as was its constitution. It contained the best informed, indeed the only well-informed men of the country, as to its laws and government; and it was just sufficient to persuade the French of all that is necessary for them; that is to say, that there was a power in the state which was allowed to modify absolute rule; a body which was permitted to interpose between the subject and the grand monarch; a tolerated bulwark against oppression, and a legal vent for loquacity.

The liberties of the Gallican church constitute a privilege in which the French place much of their ecclesiastical glory. These consisted principally in two points: 1. That the Pope cannot interfere in the temporal or civil concerns of the kingdom. 2. That even his spiritual power is limited by the ancient councils of the realm. All this was very prudent, but if scrutinised, it will appear less the result of general wisdom and policy than of local interest. The French, in almost every stage of their history, have been the great abettors of papal encroachments; and this not from weakness, like many of the emperors, but from principle. They opposed, however,

however, the interference of the Roman Pontiff at home; that is to say, they assisted the church to become paramount over all the kingdoms of the earth, France excepted. The attributes which the Pope claimed from other nations, the French, while they permitted him to assume them wherever they themselves were not concerned, arrogated in their turn to their own church, and transferred infallibility to a council of their own bishops. At no period have they abridged this attribute in favour of reason; and the religion of Christ remained, in the year 1790, loaded with all the corruptions which human vice and folly had been accumulating upon it during eighteen centuries; but these corruptions were turned to the account of the Gallican church.

It is remarkable, that one of the earliest sects which opposed the errors of the Romish church arose in the south of France. The north of Europe, in the middle of the twelfth century, had not sufficient mental cultivation to consider such matters attentively; and the first dissatisfaction was to be expected on the part of the nearest witnesses to abuses, in maintaining which they had no interest. The Catholic writers, who have described, under various names, the sect of the Albigenses, paint them in colours too detestable to be true; and the falsehood of their statements is made further evident by other opponents of the innovation, who advised their own partisans to imitate the austere virtues of the new Christians, if they sincerely wished to lead them back again into the bosom of the church. But the opinions of the Albigenses made little progress in the rest of France, and they themselves were nearly exterminated by the unheard-of cruelty of their persecutors at different epochas, and renewed after an interval of four centuries. It was not from these crude attempts to get rid of abuses that an effective reformation was to be produced. Such an event must be the result of calm and unimpassioned reason; and it was more congenial with the reflection of the north than with the impetuosity of a southern people.

But though the Albigenses were the first to raise an outcry against the Roman Pontiff, they made less impression upon the minds of their fellow-subjects, during four centuries, than Wicliffe, who lived nearly about the middle of that period, and whose era may in some measure be considered as its mezzo termine, had operated in a very few years in this island. In England, as in France, the new sectaries were opposed, but with much less cruelty and with much less success. When Luther and Calvin began to teach, the opinions which became prevalent in France were those of the latter; yet Calvin was a more austere reformer than his rival, and his opposition to every kind of supremacy, except that of each church for itself governed by presbyteries and synods, without  
bishops,

bishops, resembled a republican more than a monarchical regimen. In short, among the various shades and modes of reformation, the French chose that which was the least suited to their political system and their character; for we maintain that there is a necessary relation between religious and political systems, and that both are inseparably bound to national character. They were not led to it by conviction, but by impulse; not by reflection, but by ardour; not by devotion, but by enthusiasm; and they felt that they wished to change—perhaps to reform—but they were not certain how. They obeyed the dictates of fancy, which always exaggerates; and they overshot the mark which was the only one they could have attained. It is just possible, that Lutheranism might have obtained footing in France, but this is the utmost reach of our belief. Calvinism, in the sixteenth century, was as wild a project there as equality in the eighteenth; and from it the reformation received a shock, against which the nation never has been able to rally.

The Inquisition had been established at Toulouse in the reign of Lewis IX. and this perhaps was among his claims to the title of saint. It was directed against the Albigenses, whom it pursued with unrelenting rigour, punishing even voluntary converts from their faith. At the end of three years, however, this tribunal was driven from Toulouse, and fled to Narbonne, where it was ill received. The reader may see in Mathew Paris, and other writers of those times, the infamous conduct and the cruelties of a monk named Robert, placed at the head of the Inquisition by the Pope, and tolerated by Saint Lewis during six years. About eighty years afterwards another Inquisitor, Foulques, inflicted unheard of tortures upon the inhabitants of Toulouse, under pretence of heresy, insomuch that Philip le Bel, who was not of a very tender or tolerant disposition, interfered to put an end to them; but not until this person had tortured and burned ten times as many heretics as our Queen Mary. At length a more effectual check was put to the proceedings of this tribunal, not by the people, but by the kings of France, who became jealous of its power; and the project of establishing it in France, upon the same footing as in Spain, in order to oppose the spreading spirit of Calvinism, was rendered abortive by the eloquence of Pierre Seguier; although a bull of Paul IV. at the request of Henry II. in 1558, the very year in which Elizabeth ascended the English throne, established it according to the model of the Inquisition in Rome; and named the cardinals of Lorraine, Bourbon, and Chatillon, as presidents, with a right to delegate their power to bishops and doctors in theology.

But the Inquisition was a slow and feeble engine of persecution,



tion, compared with the other modes of exterminating heretics employed in France. Intolerance authorized, commanded by law, is a horrid and revolting principle; but the very interposition of the law, with its formalities and delays, must always make legal persecutions less sanguinary, and murders less frequent, than when the populace directly execute their unbridled malignity. The bloodiest tribunal that the world has beheld, that which stalked with the most gigantic strides from murder to murder, that which had passed a solemn compact with government—and executed that compact—to try, that is to condemn, each prisoner in six minutes, and to execute him in thirty-two seconds—the revolutionary tribunal of Robespierre, employed twice as many months to exterminate the same number of victims, as the Septembrisers of the preceding year had employed nights and days. The Inquisition of Spain, most odious from its having consecrated the spirit of intolerance, from having disfranchised reason and illegalised conscience, has not, during its entire existence, committed half as many murders as Charles IX. with his abetting court and people. Yet the religious massacres in France do not inspire the same detestation as the Spanish tribunal. As mere injustice the latter is as bad; but as cruelty, the worst of national vices, indiscriminate murder without form or process, is more detestable; and if crimes, in their nature equal, become more atrocious by repetition, the French nation is more sinful. But the spirit of insubordination is always rash; and there are those who do not hesitate to say that the state of the catholics in Ireland, in 1821, is more deplorable than the state of the protestants in the worst times in France. A French work published in 1819, by the Abbé de la Mennois, the hope of all who would regenerate religion in that country, and which is characterised by some eloquence, much fanaticism and still more intolerance, contains the following passage, ‘Rien ne ressemble davantage aux persécutions des Empereurs Romains contre les premiers Chrétiens, que les persécutions de l’Angleterre contre les catholiques.’—*Essai sur l’Indifférence en Matière de Religion*. 3<sup>me</sup> ed. tom. i. p. 65.

The British nation was as much inclined to protestantism as ever Henry VIII. was; and we may add, as his son and successor Edward. Queen Mary did what she could to cure them of this peccant humour, but in vain. Nay it is doubtful whether Elizabeth did more to incline her subjects to the reformed creed, or her subjects to dispose her to make it the religion of the state. But after her reign, no question can arise concerning the prevailing opinion; for the nation then became infinitely more protestant than any of its rulers. It was the nation that opposed the retrograde bias of the Stuarts;

Stuarts; and, during four successive reigns, triumphantly contended for that religion which it afterwards made a condition—the most indispensable to the succession to the crown—not out of bigotry, superstition, or intolerance, but because it was firmly persuaded that the tenets and discipline of the Romish church were not so propitious to the liberties of the people, as the protestant doctrines. But this connection either the French did not perceive; or else they were too indifferent to freedom to make it the principle of their choice. As far as the example of the sovereign is concerned, no nation in Europe ever had so fair an opportunity of becoming protestants as they had. The king, whom they adored, had been persecuted for his faith; and narrowly escaped being massacred in the St. Bartholomew. The mother of Henry IV. had early instilled into him the principles of the reformation; and when his father, an indolent and voluptuous prince, after many vacillations, went back to the catholic religion, and confided his education to the professors of that creed, his mother, Jeanne d'Albret, before her separation from him, recommended to him, on pain of disinheritance, never to give up the new faith; and his father dying shortly afterwards, he was the better enabled to continue in it. About the time of the dreadful massacre, however, he found it necessary to become a catholic; until, a little before the assembly of the states-general at Blois, in 1576, having made his escape from the court, he publicly recanted, declaring that the fear of the St. Bartholomew had forced his conversion. He was, to all intents and purposes, attached to the protestant faith; and had he not been so, his succession to the crown would not have required the confirmation of his successful arms. The French nation was catholic, while he was of the opposite belief; nay, so catholic, that the states-general just mentioned demanded of Henry III. the revocation of all pardons and favours granted to heretics, and required him to make war against them. In short, in 1593, Henry IV., after fighting for nearly four years to maintain upon his throne the religion of his private life, was compelled by the weight of public opinion to abjure it. The spectacle afforded by the two nations, in this case, was as contradictory as any two things could be. The British monarchs were using all their efforts to lead their subjects back again to the church of Rome. The favourite king of France was exposing himself daily to the risk of losing his crown, in order to make his subjects embrace a creed which he thought the most religiously true, and the most politically conducive to liberty. But the British nation was too enlightened to return to the errors it had abjured; the French had not the mental cultivation necessary to guide them to truth. They defended

fended bigotry with arms; and fought against their king who would have rescued their conscience from human caprice, and placed it in the immediate care of Omnipotence.

From the preceding examination of the political and religious tendencies of the French nation, it does not appear that they were much inclined to independence on either subject, or that they possessed just feelings on the score of liberty in any of its shapes. The same thing may also be demonstrated by examining their practice and sentiments on other points of national conduct; and if we can prove that, in some of the vices which most strongly militate against the establishment of civil liberty, the French have distinguished themselves above other nations, much will be done to show that it is not from them that mankind can learn the lessons which noble minds must ever deem the most precious.

The notions which the French have seemed to entertain of good faith and justice are more relaxed, than those which compose the civil or political creed of other nations. The history of Spain, a country frequently calumniated, does not present any thing approaching to the number of violations of good faith, private or public, between individuals or between governments, which might be reckoned in France; neither do we think that Italy, divided into all its petty states, could furnish more numerous examples than the extensive country of Gaul, whose physical force might have secured it from recurring to this weapon of the weak. The French often deride us for the anxiety we feel with regard to the private morality of the men in whom we place a public confidence. A favourite maxim of their wisdom is that there may be political mistakes but there can be no political crimes.—But we do not mean to push our inquiries farther on this head.

Of all the vices incident to human nature, that which, more than any other, militates against the establishment of liberty, is cruelty. It is connected with all that is baleful in our natures. It calls to its assistance every vice, however heinous or however mean. It is the destructive principle in all its desolating activity, not only accomplishing the present miseries of men, but preparing future destinies still blacker; sweeping away, with its long train of contemporary evils, all that is fairest in the creation; and preventing the return of good by the crimes which its memory engenders. In the tempests which it raises, but which it has no virtue to allay, the temple of liberty, most weak when it is not entirely strong, though unassailable when firmly fixed, must be overthrown.

The most afflicting conviction which the above considerations upon deliberating bodies in France, suggest, is that the assemblies, in which the people had the greatest share, were invariably those whose meeting was attended with the greatest effusion of blood;

blood; of blood shed wantonly, nay sportively. Every country has some reproaches to make to itself upon the score of cruelty; and even freedom has been too profuse of human lives. But despotism has been incomparably more prodigal; and, upon this subject, we shall endeavour to prove two points,—the first, as preliminary, that throughout the world the vice which seems to be the most in opposition to freedom is cruelty; the second, as conclusive to our particular theme, that the French nation is that in which, of all the nations of Europe, this vice has been, in every period, the most prominent and inveterate; that to which they have the most frequently returned, and which has known the fewest interruptions.

In Asia, slavery and cruelty keep equal pace and ever have done so. In Africa, where inhumanity wears a still more ferocious aspect, freedom is still more a stranger. But these are extreme cases, and we can find others nearer home. The Athenians and the Spartans were not sanguinary, while they were free; although the former were often thoughtless, and the latter always severe. The Romans, as long as their republic lasted, were austere and stern, harsh to themselves and others. They inflicted some cruel punishments to serve as examples, as at Fidenæ, at Suessa Pometia; and, when they had in their power the Samnite general who had disgraced them at the Caudine Forks, they were cruel as well as ungenerous. But such trifling acts as these would not even be mentioned in Asiatic history; and much more numerous examples might be found of Roman benevolence and generosity, than of Roman cruelty. The revolution which expelled the Tarquins did not cost half as many lives, even in proportion to the population, as the usurpation of Cæsar afterwards destroyed. But, at the former period, the Romans were capable of liberty; at the latter, they could not endure it. During the empire, humanity was banished, and with it freedom; although Christianity should have established a new proportion between these national virtues, and the most instructive history which the ancient world affords, gives ample proof that they are inseparable. In the history of Britain, the most instructive of modern times, and, in all that relates to civil liberty, the most instructive of the world, the same fact is apparent; and the epochas at which liberty made a real progress were marked with the greatest humanity. Alfred was a rigorous observer of justice, and an inflexible judge; but he ordered no massacres and committed no cruelties. The first charter—that under Henry I.—was ratified by no hecatomb; and the field of Runnamede was bloodless. Edward I. was not cruel toward his subjects whose charter he confirmed; neither did they extort its confirmation by murder. The Habeas Corpus, the Bill of Rights

Act,

Act, were obtained even without a battle or a death: but the unavailing wars of York and Lancaster, during which liberty did not advance a single step, form the most cruel and destructive periods of our history. The retrograde motion of our religious emancipation was much more bloody than its onward progress; and tolerance is humanity. Our first revolution, that in which Charles I. perished, was more sanguinary than our second, and its result was not liberty; while the second, one of the most humane upon record, fully accomplished that precious purpose. Every revolution that would succeed, if it has liberty or even independence for its object, must be merciful.

In proof of our second position, we must recall to the memory of our readers some very dreadful and revolting scenes. The circumstances which are particularly to be remarked respecting French cruelty are, that it is wanton, indiscriminate, mixed up with much levity, and that, contrary to the progress of inhumanity in other European nations, it has rather increased than diminished as civilization has advanced; for the massacres of later times have been at least as pitiless and ferocious, as any that occurred in the most barbarous periods. This persistency in a vice which, more than any other, is corrected by social improvement, forms one of its most characteristic features in France; and though it admits of an easy explanation, we must, for the present, confine ourselves to the fact. We will not dwell upon the monsters which that country produced in early times, as Fredegonde, Brunéhault; or as Chilperic, the Nero of that country, and Clotaire II. Neither shall we mention the acts of some of their bad sovereigns of later date. It may be said that the utmost blame which can accrue to the people from such acts as these is, that they tolerated the rulers who perpetrated them; and were either bad, or weak, or foolish enough to submit to governors who sported with their lives. To stamp inhumanity as a national vice, it must be shown to be the vice of the nation, not of its monarchs; and this again is a feature of French cruelty, that in no country of Europe has the bulk of the nation taken so active a part in massacres. It will, therefore, be sufficient to enumerate some of those in which the mass of the population was concerned, to maintain our assertion. The Coterieux, under Philip II., are represented as laying waste first the environs of Bourges, and afterwards spreading much farther, flaying alive the priests, violating women before their husbands' faces, committing every kind of sacrilege and cruelty to such an extent that the monarch found it necessary to send an army to exterminate them—and they were exterminated. During the crusade against Raymond, Count of Thoulouse, sixty thousand Albigenses were massacred, and seven thousand in a church. Simon de Montford,

Montford, whose humanity the Père Daniel thinks he cannot sufficiently eulogize, after the taking of Lavaur, threw the lady of the castle, alive, into a well, hanged her brother, murdered eighty gentlemen, her companions, and burned four hundred heretics, while the clergy were singing a hymn to the Holy Ghost. The Routiers, in 1185, were as cruel as the Cottereaux in 1183. The Pastoureaux, under St. Lewis, and during the regency of Blanche, committed still greater ravages, and murdered, with excessive cruelty, all who opposed them. These same Pastoureaux, who, in France, amounted to more than 50,000, and kept the whole country in terror and in blood, attempted to get a footing in England, but they never rose to any height; for they were immediately subdued, and the chiefs punished by the few sectaries whom they had seduced. Under Philip IV. Hainault was laid waste, and the Count of that province revenged himself by burning, plundering, and violating all that he could reach; insomuch, says Velly, that one would have supposed that hordes of Tartars had combined to ruin Europe.

The following account is given of the Jacquerie, which began near Beauvais, in the reign of John. The peasantry, furious at the ill-treatment they said they had received from their superiors, flew to any arms they could find, and laid waste the whole country, murdering every person, not nobles only, but peasants, who refused to join them. Two hundred castles were burned, and their inhabitants massacred. But the nobles soon retaliated, and were as indiscriminate in their vengeance as the Jacques had been in provoking it. The massacre in Paris, by order of Marcel, happened about the same time, as also the cruelties of the *grandes compagnies*, who, one after another, murdered all who stood in their way, and deluged France with blood. Under Charles VI., the Maillotins massacred at first the tax-gatherers, and afterwards all they met, and reduced Paris to the state of a town taken by storm. To this succeeded dreadful executions, too horrid and too numerous for open day; and many were put in sacks and thrown by night into the Seine. The massacres which took place in Paris, and in France, during the factions of Orleans and Burgundy, certainly surpassed the alternate proscriptions of Marius and Sylla, of Antony and Octavius; though history, which painted the latter as the most odious and destructive, has had the art to slur over the former; but the capital of Italy never, in the worst of times, presented such a scene of thoughtless profligacy, and sanguinary levity, as many that occurred in the reign of Charles VI. In Rome, the nod of Marius was a sentence of death. In Paris, every man of the triumphant faction was a Marius, and murdered with a look. The historian, (Velly,) after recounting

recounting, in the course of a few pages, more confusion, cruelty, and bloodshed, and giving a more gloomy picture of Paris than ever London afforded, says, with much naïveté, 'Il y avoit eu jusqu'alors peu de sang versé;' and indeed, in comparison with what followed, he is in the right, for it was after the scenes just mentioned that the worst massacres began. Disgusting as is the picture, we are compelled to delineate it, in order to show that in stating the point we meant to prove, we were neither intemperate nor unjust. The 12th June, 1418, was the memorable day on which the populace broke open the prisons; and forcing those who were confined there, Armagnacs, Bourguignons, debtors, criminals, guiltless, all to come out, slew them one by one: the Connetable, the Chancellor, seven prelates, the peers and magistrates of the parliament, with many of less note, were dragged from their dungeons and massacred. The prison of the Châtelet alone made some resistance, but it was set on fire, and at length it surrendered. The people rushed in, and either threw the prisoners, or compelled them to precipitate themselves, out of the windows upon pikes which were held below to receive them. In the court of the palace the blood of the murdered flowed ankle deep, and there was not a street in Paris without its assassinations. Every man killed every enemy, or rival, or creditor he had. (*Velly*, vol. iii. p. 468.) Every species of outrage was executed upon the dead bodies during three days; and a sash (*écharpe*) in the form of that worn as the badge of the triumphing faction, was cut for the Duke d'Armagnac, out of his own flesh, and hung across his corpse. Three thousand five hundred persons perished in three days; and the *Septembriseurs* of the fifteenth century were applauded by the chiefs of the nobility, some of whom, it is said, gained three hundred thousand crowns by their exploits. (*ibid.* p. 471.) Immediately afterwards the Queen Isabella of Bavaria, with the Duke of Burgundy, returned to Paris in triumph; and the streets, from which the blood, shed by her orders a day or two before, was not yet washed away, were strewed with roses for her solemn entry. The reign which followed put an end to the disturbances, and suspended, for a long time, the cruelty of the nation. One of the monarchs, however, whom they called the Grand Roi, was present at an execution of Calvinists, thus described by Daniel as an act of exemplary piety of Francis I.

'Le soir du même jour six coupables furent conduits à la place publique où l'on avoit préparé des feux pour les brûler. Il y avoit au milieu de chaque bucher une espèce d'estrade élevée où on les attachait; ensuite on alluma le feu au-dessous d'eux, et les bourreaux, lâchant doucement la corde, laissoient couler jusqu'à la hauteur du feu ces misérables pour leur en faire sentir la plus vive impression; puis on les guindoit de nouveau en haut, et après leur avoir fait souffrir ce cruel



tourment à diverses reprises, on les laissa tomber au milieu des flammes où ils expirèrent.'

Our Mary is justly stigmatized as a monster; yet we are not aware that she ever took the diversion of the stake in person; besides—and this alone may serve to mark the feelings of the two nations with regard to cruelty—we do not adore—we execrate her memory. During her reign, too, not more than 283 persons perished by religious persecutions; but Mezerai expresses himself thus in *praise* of Francis I.: 'Heretics in his reign, and by his order, were burned by dozens, sent to the galleys by hundreds, and banished by thousands.' The persecutions against the Waldenses, at Cabrieres, Merindole, Carcassone, &c., commanded by Francis, and executed by the Baron d'Oppede, were attended with more numerous details of cruelty than all those under Mary; and in one single night more persons perished than in the five years and a half of her wretched reign.

The persecutions under Francis were the forerunners of all that happened in the ensuing reigns; and cruelty, which at this polished period was very great in France, increased as the nation became more refined. The reign of Henry II. was full of religious persecutions. The strictest orders were given to the judges to show no mercy to protestants. Some of the parliament were put in prison for having proposed to moderate the penalties against them. All who interceded in their favour were considered as accomplices; and at the rejoicings for the birth of Charles IX.—a dreadful omen of his future reign—it was thought a proper accompaniment to the festival to make a bonfire of living heretics, which the monarch applauded from the windows of his palace; though it seems he was much affected when he heard the screams of his household tailor—one of the victims. The shorter reign of Francis II. was of course less bloody; but the name of Charles IX. is sufficient to call to mind all that is horrid. Beside the St. Bartholomew—which in England at least seems to have absorbed all indignation—there occurred, in his reign, the massacre of Vassy and a civil war, which summed up in a very small space of time much more blood, and cruelty, and murder than our entire wars of the Red and White Roses. The *age* of Lewis XIV. witnessed the massacres at the Hotel de Ville, when the people, too impatient to make distinctions between friends and foes, massacred all they met, Mazarines and Frondeurs. The same reign, which the French have designated as one of the great epochas in the history of mankind, by which the whole species was improved and dignified, produced, beside the massacre of the Hotel de Ville, the revocation of the edict de Nantes, the Dragonnades, the Camisards, the religious wars in the Cevennes, and the devastations of the Palatinate.

All

All the horrors which we have recounted, (and we have not given a single one which is not extracted from a French historian, and which does not rest upon French authority,) and an infinitely greater number which we have spared our readers the pains of perusing, were committed—to what end? Certainly, notwithstanding what Madame de Staël has said upon the subject—not to the end of liberty. Liberty, in our minds, is so far from insubordination, that we should be inclined to define it, ‘rational submission to rational rule.’ Now we have not been able to discover the slightest trace of either of these, in any of the civil commotions of France; but on the contrary, the most licentious spirit of destruction and nothing more. The eloquent and learned writer just mentioned, asserts: (*Considérations sur la Révol. Franç. tom. i. 17.*) ‘les troubles civils, aussi bien que les violences auxquelles on a eu recours pour les étouffer, attestent que les Français ont lutté autant que les Anglais pour obtenir la liberté légale, qui seule peut faire jouir une nation du calme de l’émulation et de la prospérité.’ We look upon this opinion to be as extraordinary and irrational as any we have met with. To say that the troubles and violences were as great in France as in England is not enough;—they were greater, ten times greater, and the blood that was spilled in them one hundred times as much in not twice the population. But that these troubles and violences were in the cause of legal liberty, or of any liberty, or of any rights or immunities, but a universal right and liberty to plunder and destroy, is what we deny. The season of those atrocities is now old; and the apostles of new liberty, who might, perhaps, not look upon more recent scenes without passion, may contemplate them with impartiality. Even to these men we appeal, and ask, whether, in all the commotions which the history of France contains—they can point out one instance in which any real attempt was made to secure liberty, or even to establish it—we mean not British or American liberty—but such liberty as the Swiss, the Dutch, the Swedes, many states of Italy, many nations of Germany, nay, many kingdoms of Spain were in those moments enjoying? A few of the monarchs of France, indeed, made some advances toward introducing a little liberty: but the people did not second them, and for this reason: the freedom which the kings would have given was regular and gradual: that which their subjects wanted was disorderly and irruptive. Besides, the liberty which monarchs offer is a suspicious present. There is none true, none lasting, which is not won by the virtue and wisdom of the nation at large; and virtue and wisdom will always find means to extort from those who would oppose them the latitude which suits them, and the emancipation which they are competent to enjoy without abuse.

It is a sad prognostic when subjects are less anxious to reclaim their rights, than monarchs are to grant them. Nations, whose wish is to convert life into a scene of mirth and pleasure, must find liberty rather an incumbrance; yet if they have, at the same time, a certain portion of *amour propre*, they will not like to allow that they are not free. The wisest thing for such would be to renounce their legal portions, and beg for a little alimony; to put themselves voluntarily into the hands of trustees who will provide that their capital be not squandered away, or their revenues quite withheld; and who, possessing ample means of controul, present no image of restraint except good order. Such was the extremest liberty which the French, during many centuries, seemed capable of enjoying: a tolerated, not a prescriptive liberty; no code of national rights, in theory or in practice: but an occasional and permitted infringement of despotism which the sovereign forbore to check in favour of public opinion, and in order to maintain the illusion that liberty enjoyed upon sufferance was liberty. The answer of Lewis XII. to some courtiers who urged him to punish a company of comedians, who had sneered at his respectable economy, fully illustrates our meaning: 'I might do so,' said he; 'but I am not sorry to have it known that, during my reign, such a liberty was taken with impunity.' There is not one example that the French have attempted to pass this limit without misery to themselves; or to establish freedom as a right, without losing it as an indulgence.

Another of the many causes which unfit the French nation for liberty, is the particular bias of their intellectual faculties, which has not adapted them for the great conceptions of a wide and just and liberal system of morality and policy. No man labours for the mere love of labour; and the French have so little necessity for toil, that they do not exercise either mind or body in persevering industry; though the extreme vivacity of their sensations has endowed them with a greater quickness of perception, than is enjoyed by other nations. But to perceive is not to understand, still less to feel; and the very promptitude with which an object is at first desired is often an obstacle to its entire accomplishment, as it renders the advantages of steady pursuit less obvious, from making them less necessary.

'The most eminent instance of the flourishing of learning,' says Hume, (*Essay on Civil Liberty*), 'in absolute governments is that of France, which scarcely ever enjoyed any established liberty, and yet has carried the arts and sciences as near perfection as any other nation. The English are perhaps greater philosophers, the Italians better painters and musicians, the Romans were greater orators; but the French are the only people, except the Greeks, who have been at once philosophers, poets, orators, historians, painters,

painters, architects, sculptors, and musicians. With regard to the stage—they have excelled even the Greeks, who far excelled the English. And in common life, they have in a great measure perfected that art, the most useful and agreeable of any, *l'art de vivre*, the art of society and conversation.' There is scarcely an opinion contained in this extract, (or indeed in the whole Essay,) to which we can subscribe. A short sketch of the benefit which mankind at large has derived from the labours of French intellect, will be our best reply. We take this test as the most general we can find, because, if mankind does not derive benefit from the intellectual labours of nations, those labours must have been either very worthless, or very selfish.

We shall first consider the character of their literature. The French were early lovers of poetry; that is to say, of light romance and amatory verse. The arrival of Constance, daughter of William I., count of Provence and wife to Robert, who succeeded Hugo Capet, is the epocha of the introduction of poetry composed in the vulgar tongue; and to that period succeeded others of considerable fame, as when the *Jeux Floraux* were introduced, when the *Troubadours*, the *Conteurs*, the *Menestrels*, &c. flourished; and it was from France that England first borrowed her romantic poesies. But while in this country, the imagination of the poet every day received new succours from the light of the philosopher, while it soared to express the most magnificent conceptions in the most splendid diction, and laid every province of nature under contribution; the French paid more attention to language than to thought, and selfishly confined their poetical enjoyments to what only they could feel, instead of extending them to the beauties which remain the same in every dialect and to every nation. Theirs was, and is, the poetry of phrases,—ours became the poetry of the mind and of the heart. Philosophy and passion, imagination and fancy, are equally unknown to French verse, where every sentiment is disfigured, and clipt, and drawn through the slender wire-holes of what is called good taste. Of all the nations that ever have poetised, the French is the least poetical; it is that which has produced the least proportion of such poetry as would continue to be poetry if translated into another tongue; that whose language is the least capable of rendering the strong imagery, the splendid fancies, or the deep thoughts of foreign bards endowed with bolder feelings than theirs; and the language of a nation is, perhaps, a more general measure of its poetical capacity than even its poetry. In short, France is the country to which the fervid soul, the inspiration, the rapture, the fine frenzy, the creative spirit of the poet have been the most completely denied.

In philosophy, of whatever description, whether moral, political,

or intellectual, the discoveries of the French have been slender; and it would have been difficult in any of those branches, to name any thing for which the world is indebted to them, and which can be classed among the great impulses by which the species has been essentially improved, and raised to a more exalted station than it held before. No great conceptions on the human soul, the human heart, or the human understanding characterize their researches; none of the towering marks, which stand as beacons in the ocean of time to show where thought has dared, and lighted the way to new adventurers, have been erected by French meditation. The systems which they have devised, whether in ethics, politics, or natural philosophy, are among the most short-lived of human invention, as the greatest names, those of Ramus, (murdered at the Saint Bartholomew, by Charpentaire his rival,) Des Cartes, Malebranche, Helvetius, and even Lavoisier can testify. They have discovered no worlds—they have planted few colonies, explored few deserts, and led the way through few seas untried before. No new empires have sprung from their loins to be the heirs and repositories of their various glories. The universe is indebted to them for no benefactions like the following: instruments to measure time; the mariner's compass, (for the claim to this, upon the plea that the needle is in the shape of a fleur-de-lis, is as valid as Lavoisier's claim to the system of chemistry in the last century, by calling it French chemistry;) printing, gunpowder, the air-pump, the steam-engine, telescopes, inoculation, vaccination, international constitutions which regulate the rights of states; the institutions of political liberty as in Germany, or of civil liberty as in England; or a religious reformation as in both. In a word, no people that has occupied such a space upon the globe, such a place in history; that has enjoyed such a rank among nations; that has aspired to so much consideration for mental improvement, to such an influence in the concerns of men; that has been so long and so highly in a progressive state of cultivation, so eager for fame, so insatiate of glory, so restless in ambition, has ever contributed so little to the universal advantage of the species.

The art, indeed, in which Mr. Hume allows them the greatest eminence, certainly owes them much of the perfection it had attained in France: *l'art de vivre*. But either Mr. Hume has given a very wide meaning to the term, or else he has mistaken its import altogether. *L'art de vivre*, he says, the art of society and conversation, is the most useful and the most agreeable of any. If society be separated from conversation, and taken in its most extensive signification, civil and political society, the good organization of a community, the order of a realm, then indeed we should agree with Mr. Hume that it is the most useful. But the art of society, as illustrated in his Essay by the expressions which accompany

accompany it, means no such thing. Thus allied, it implies the art of living agreeably in courts and in assemblies, in boudoirs and in salons, at *petits-soupers* and *grands-dîners*; the art which persons of wealth and fashion invent for their own convenience, and which thence descends, with decreasing intensity, to inferior ranks. It is the art which gives currency to folly, and polish to vice, and grace to depravity, and unworthiness to homely virtues, and ease to the intercourse of the polite. This art indeed, or rather this portion of the art *de vivre*, once was well understood in France, but only this portion; and this surely is not the most useful. It is painful to read such an opinion in the works of a man, who, as an historian and a philosopher, stands so eminent:—but the perfection which the French had attained in this art biased his mind, and he was the dupe of their politeness; seductive, however, as were the Parisian coteries in which Mr. Hume lived, our general information—our rectitude of mind—our cordiality of feeling were unknown to them. And could Mr. Hume be gratified by conversation in which these were wanting? or did he not perceive their absence?

The intellect of the French is lively, quick, and sensitive; it is particularly happy in the glances it takes of transitory relations, and in all cases where ready perception is necessary; but it is unfortunate in all that depends upon combinations and generalization. It does not take enlarged views, or draw comprehensive conclusions. Guided by sensation more than by reason, it judges from exceptions, not from rules; because the rarity of exceptions obtrudes their notice upon the senses, and rules are matter for reflection. It has not therefore the greatness and stability, the perseverance, the solidity necessary for practical and established liberty. It may oppose tyranny, it may pull down despotism, for these are works of destruction; but there is little chance while it remains as it is, that it will put any thing better in their place. The French *sçavants*, by the splendour of whose renown the world has been dazzled, are the exceptions to the general state of knowledge in the country; neither is it to be wondered that a few among a very active people should advance most rapidly, as soon as their vivacity can submit to be confined within the severer limits of scientific truth. But grand and comprehensive views on the one hand, and, on the other, sober, rational practicability are always wanting.

Yet notwithstanding all that we have said against the probability of liberty in France, deduced from the past history of that country, and which, we confess, appears to us to contain the most discouraging prognostics we have met with in the annals of any European nation, we are not so hardened in our opinions as totally to exclude the possibility of success. Sad indeed would be

the lot of mortals if they never could improve. We most conscientiously believe in the reformation of all our fellow-creatures; and we hold their amendment to be more certain, as their repentance is more sincere, and their contrition more hearty. But expiations such as these are not alone sufficient to fit them for a better condition in the system of society; and human prosperity must be secured by principles more active. Those constitute, so to say, the theory of moral regeneration; but on earth, all is practice. What we require, before we can give up our opinion, is not merely sorrow for the past, but a total and fundamental reform of character and mind. New hearts must be infused into the people unused to liberty, before they can be free; and it is in their actions that we read their hearts. We expect, then, that the advocates who support an opposite doctrine from ours, and maintain the aptitude of the French nation for liberty, should point out to us such a change in their actions—not in their words, their professions, their declamations—not in their laws, their institutions, their forms of government—as may authorize a change in our opinions. We should be the first and the most happy to submit to their arguments, could they convince us that the late political troubles of France had been attended by a real and practical diminution of moral and political ill to that country only—for we will not be too unreasonable on the score of benefits conferred on other nations—that the pretexts upon which the French revolution was grounded, really were its causes; that, by it, the past vices of the nation had been reformed, or its past virtues strengthened; that new virtues had been engendered; that in a human sense the correction of evils had been pursued by no animosities, and animosity followed by no blood; that abuses had not been supplanted by crimes, and partial ill by general desolation; that justice, if not robbed of all its severity, had retained none which the public good did not demand; that war, if not stripped of all its dreadful engines, had practised no superfluous modes of misery; that civil discord had lost its fury, and revenge its stings, and duplicity its wiles; that the new champions of new freedom had directed their ingenuity to diminish, not to increase the sad stores of human affliction; that their generosity had not been universal spoliation, their liberty not licentiousness, their equality not envy, their philanthropy not vengeance, their fraternity not the clasp of death; that toleration had some other origin beside the belief in no God; that incredulity had not erected its inquisition to exterminate all who were guilty of religion; and that Atheism had not kindled its fires of persecution, hotter than the flames of intolerance. What we ask surely is not much; and we stand eager and anxious to be refuted. The ordinary feelings of humanity would be sufficient to make us ardently desire to be convicted



victed of error; but we can assume a position more direct, one, of which the least delicate inquisitors of moral motives own the influence: England hardly has a dearer interest than that our opinion should not be correct. As the welfare of the good is promoted by good men; as the interest of the virtuous is to live among the virtuous; of peaceful provinces to have peaceful neighbours; of commercial nations to lie near opulent empires; so it is the interest of free states to be surrounded by free states. The native rights of mankind have nothing to fear from men who inhale the sacred breath of liberty. The higher France shall rise, then, in the scale of freedom, the higher Britain will be carried; and, as we do not think our present horizon is the verge of earth, exquisitely as we are gratified by the possession of the good it encircles, we hope and trust, nay, we are confident, that the species has yet much possible progress allotted to it, in that boundless space, whose centre is every where, but whose circumference, like the Riphean mountains of antiquity, recede indefinitely as mankind advances. Perhaps since the diffusion of Christianity, but surely during the last and wisest centuries, Britain has stood foremost in the infinite course of reason. It is she who has carried the undiscovered centre forwards, and made the inscrutable circumference expand. She is the foremost beacon of the civilized world; and the best security that her lights, and with them those of all mankind, shall not be extinguished is, that other nations shall follow and contemplate. The nearest in place we should hope to see the nearest in emulation; and that wisdom, virtue, and liberty should confirm to us the associates and competitors which vicinity had given; in order that what is termed art in the construction of society, may not be opposed to nature. It is by these principles that we would be judged; and if, in the desire to impress upon others the warm conviction which we feel ourselves, and in which both mind and soul participate, some bitterness has escaped us, it is the bitterness of sorrow, not of malignity. The nation we wish to know the most improved, is France. France is the country which, next to our own, we have the most immediate interest to see happy, tranquil, moral, wise, and free; in peace with ourselves, in harmony with the world; and if, when we do not find our wishes realized, when, on the contrary, we know them to be frustrated in every point, we dwell upon the theme; we speak in disappointment, not in envy; in affliction, not in hatred.

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ERRATUM.

p. 359.—for 'Hetrodorus' read 'Heliodorus.'

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## END OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH VOLUME.

LONDON: Printed by C. Roworth,  
Bell-yard, Temple-bar.

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